

CAREER PATHS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS

A. Harrison, B.Sc. (Hon.), B.Ed.

Department of Graduate and Undergraduate
Studies in Education

Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Faculty of Education
Brock University
St Catharines, Ontario

© December, 1994

Abstract

Ten superintendents, 5 male and 5 female, were randomly selected from a possible 33 males and 9 females in the Niagara and Hamilton regions. The participants were interviewed through a guided interview process coupled with an accounting of their educational and career histories. They were asked to discuss significant aspects of their careers such as the support they had received from families, from mentors and from involvement in networks. The data collected were then analyzed for similarities and differences both within and between the two gender cohorts. Upon analysis, it was found that the female and male administrators possessed differences in their personal backgrounds as well as their career and educational histories. Differences were also found in the perceived role of mentors, and networks. The ways in which the female administrators experienced their careers were found to be quite different from the ways in which the male administrators experienced their careers.

Acknowledgements

Completion of a thesis does not occur in isolation, rather, it requires assistance and advice from numerous sources. For this reason, I would like to take the time to acknowledge several individuals who have been influential in supporting my endeavours.

To begin with, I thank MCK, who encouraged me to pursue my master's in the first place and who provides me with an example as a successful woman administrator. As well, I thank all of my participants, both of the pilot study and of the present study.

I wish to acknowledge the help of the faculty at Brock University with special mention of the advice and support of Dr. P. Cranton and Dr. G. Jones. Most especially, I wish to thank Dr. R. Knoop who has provided considerable feedback, guidance and encouragement at all stages of this endeavour.

I would like to thank my family and friends who have, throughout my course work and my research provided support and maintained my morale. Finally, this thesis would have proved an insurmountable task without the constant support, advice, and encouragement of my computer whiz, proofreader, helpmate, friend and husband, Michael, YTL.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

In recent years, there have been significant changes to the status of women in educational administration. In fact, there are some individuals that believe that a person's sex no longer has any effect on his or her ability to climb the hierarchy of educational administration. According to some, women now "have it easy". If that were so, this study would not be needed. In actuality, women are still faced with a "glass ceiling" in their attempts to gain access to the upper reaches of educational administration. In Ontario, the old saying that "women teach and men administer" still continues to hold true (Eastman, 1989; Tyack & Strober, 1981).

This study examines the career paths of selected female and male administrators, in order that the true nature of the glass ceiling can be understood. In doing this, a particular emphasis is placed on the role that involvement with mentors, networks and the development of a basis for power have had on the career histories of these women and men.

The background which led to this particular study, as well as the exact questions examined therein, are presented in Chapter One. The second chapter examines the recent literature involving the study of women in educational administration. Beginning with an historical analysis, the chapter delves into

the roles women are socialized to play within our society before continuing with an examination of the organizational structure of our educational system. Finally, the literature concerning the key concepts of mentoring, networking and power as they relate to women in administration is presented. The third chapter presents a rationale for the use of qualitative research within this study. It then develops the research design of the pilot study and of the current study. Chapter Four presents the findings of the current study. These findings are analyzed and conclusions are drawn in Chapter Five. As well, this final chapter includes an examination of the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research areas. It ends with an analysis of the implications the findings of this study have on educational practice and research.

Background

In Policy Program Memorandum No. 111, issued February 2nd, 1990, the Ministry of Education for Ontario proposed that by the year 2000, the representation of women in positions of supervisory officer, principal, and vice principal at both the elementary and the secondary level is to be 50 per cent (Ministry of Education, 1990). In introducing the rationale behind Memorandum No. 111, Chris Ward (1989), then the Minister of Education for Ontario, announced that it is time to "shake ourselves from apathy and recognize that simply employing women in the educational system is not enough... it is time to fully utilize their skills, knowledge and ability at all

levels" (Ward, 1989, p. 8). In light of the fact that at the time of its publication, representation at all levels, with the exception of elementary vice principal, was significantly below the 20% level, the question arose as to how such a dramatic change in representation could occur in so few years (Ministry of Education, 1992).

A recent review of the changes in representation indicates that while the situation for women is improving, (the 20% barrier has at last been broken) there still exists an enormous discrepancy between the representation of women in teaching positions (currently 65.8%), in the positions of principals and vice principals (29.7 %) and of upper management (16 %) (Ministry of Education, 1992). The fact still remains that in these last decades of the century the masculine patina of educational administration has remained untarnished.

Extensive research has examined the role of women in education in general and in educational administration in particular, in attempts to explain and come to terms with the discrepancies that exist in the representation of women at the two levels. While several models have been posited that attempt to understand this continued discrepancy, none appears to be wholly satisfactory. The most commonly mentioned are the Women's Place Model, the Discrimination Model and the Meritocracy Model, with the last having the least amount of support (Dopp & Sloan, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989b). The first two models place an emphasis on the effects that sex role socialization, career

aspirations, variable educational training, career paths and career profiles have on women entering administration (Adkison 1981; Dopp & Sloan, 1986; Fauth, 1984; MacPherson, 1986; Pounder, 1989). Many researchers, such as Charol Shakeshaft, have centred on the description of the androcentric nature of the educational administration hierarchy as being innately discriminatory towards women (Adkison, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1989b; Stockard & Johnson, 1981). From varying perspectives, the researchers tend to agree that the discrepancy lies not with a lack of desire by women to be administrators or through a lack of competency or training. Rather, the discrepancy stems from a complex interplay of androcentrically oriented organizational structure, societal values and beliefs, and the subsequent sex role socialization that affects all women.

Many of the researchers have described the barriers that women face as a result of this sex role socialization and organizational structure. These barriers are most commonly grouped according to whether they are internal barriers, such as lack of self-esteem and self-confidence, or external barriers, such as discriminatory hiring practices (Adkison, 1985; Carlson & Schmuck, 1981; Collinson, 1989; Edson, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1989b). Edson's (1988) examination of female aspirants would suggest that the new breed of women administrator has overcome many of the internal barriers (Edson, 1988; McGrath, 1992). As well, changes enacted by Employment Equity and Affirmative Action programs, coupled as they are with changes to the Charter

of Rights and Freedoms have caused many of the external barriers to fall (Adkison, 1981; Gaskell, McLaren & Novogrodsky, 1989; Schlesinger 1988; Wyatt, 1990). Nevertheless, statistics released recently from the Ministry of Education for Ontario indicate that while women represent 62% of the successful principal's candidates and 53% of the successful supervisory officer candidates, they get hired into such vacancies only 42% of the time (Ministry of Education, 1992). There exists for women, an invisible and still impenetrable barrier, a "glass ceiling", between them and the administrator's chair (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987) .

In 1909, when she became the first woman superintendent in the Chicago Public School system, Ella Flagg Young announced that "women are destined to rule the schools of every city" for it is a "woman's natural field" (Shakeshaft, 1989b, p. 18). While she felt that "in the near future we will have more women than men in executive charge of the vast educational system" it would take nearly three quarters of a century before Ruth B. Love would become the second superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools (Shakeshaft, 1989b, p. 18). Prior to her appointment, Ms Love announced that women would "open the doors of the executive suites and ride through them with confidence and competence...[instituting] a whole new form of management, a feminine form that is rooted in solid human values" (Shakeshaft, 1989b, p. 18). While these two women and many more have ridden through the doors with

ease and have shown that they are just as capable if not, as Ms Young proclaimed, "more qualified for this work than a man", there remain many for whom the ceiling continues to exist (Shakeshaft, 1989b).

What can we learn from women such as Ella Young and Ruth Love? What do their stories tell us? By studying the career paths of women who have indeed opened the doors of the executive suites and gained a seat in the administrator's chair, can we gain a better understanding of the nature of the glass ceiling that still exists for so many women? Examinations of the career paths of men and women entering administration have in the past indicated a great difference (Early & Weindling, 1988; Jones, 1990; McDade & Drake, 1982; Solomon, Bishop, & Bresser, 1986). Women are, on average, older, have spent more years teaching and have held more staff positions, such as consultancy (Early & Weindling, 1988; Prolman, 1982). Overwhelmingly, women describe that for them there has been a struggle for acceptance (Marshall, 1981). The message that comes from other studies of women who have made it to the top indicates that they have to fight to be seen as the types of leader that are appropriate for the educational system (Adkison, 1985; Marshall, 1985). As well, women apparently lack the power base required for easier access into the educational hierarchy (Kanter, 1977). This power base is attained by men through participation in mentoring relationships and through access to networks of information and association that provide background and

support when applying for a position (Kanter, 1977; Schmuck, 1986; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). In the past, women have found that they are frequently excluded from both mentoring relationships and from the "Old Boy's Network" (Schmuck, 1986). Are they still?

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine the career paths of selected female and male administrators. Through this examination it is hoped that the following 5 sets of questions, derived from the literature and from practice will be answered: (a) What are women's career paths in educational administration? Are they different from men's? If they are different, how do they differ? In what ways are they different from men's? (b) How does the mentoring process influence careers in educational administration? Does it work differently for men than for women? (c) How does power influence the careers of educational administrators? Do men and women attain power differently? Do they use power differently? (d) What motivates men and women to enter into educational administration? (e) How do women experience their careers? Is it different from the way men experience their careers?

This study, then, examines career paths and impinging factors not only from women's perspective but also from the perspective of men who have climbed the hierarchical ladder. It is only in this fashion that a clear portrait of what it is like to be a woman or a man aspiring to be an administrator can be

painted. The literature indicates that women are not finding it easy to gain access to the administrator's chair. This study seeks to suggest how they can find their path to the top.

Scope of Study

This study will focus specifically on examining the career paths of female and male school administrators. In doing this it will make no pretense to examine who is successful in their position and who is not. As well, no attempts will be made to examine the leadership styles utilized by the administrators under study. While each of these areas is highly interesting and worthy of research and examination, it is deemed beyond the scope of this particular study.

Importance of Study

There has long been evidence that suggests that women are as successful, if not more successful in administering our schools than men (Berryman-Fink, 1985; Frasher & Frasher, 1979). At a time when our educational system is increasingly coming under close scrutiny from the general public, this alone should have us questioning what role women can play in improving the quality of education we offer in Ontario. The Ministry's own Memorandum No. 111 adds fuel to the fire by insisting that women take their place beside men in the administrator's chair (Ministry of Education, 1990). But most importantly, when we examine the statistics, women are qualified,

capable and aspiring to positions within the educational hierarchy. They deserve to be able to gain access to those positions; thus it is important that we understand how our system has excluded them in the past, so that we can change for the future.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In developing a full understanding of the current level of research on women in educational administration, numerous seemingly divergent areas need to be tied together. First, a clear understanding of the topic can only be gained through understanding the role women have traditionally played within our educational structure. Secondly, an understanding of why women may behave differently from men necessitates an examination of the root causes and subsequent effects of gender role socialization on individuals within our society. The androcentric bias of the organizational structure as a whole is then coupled with ideas concerning gender role socialization to provide the theoretical framework for an understanding of the barriers that women face as they climb the ladder to educational administration. Finally, research regarding the key issues of mentoring and networking as a means to developing a power base will be examined. The chapter ends with a look at the characteristics of women in educational administration.

A Brief History of Women as Educators

Understanding the role of women in educational administration necessitates an examination of the role women have played in education in general. In recent years teaching has often been referred to as a feminine

profession, yet a review of what little accurate research exists on women teachers indicates that it is only in the last few decades that women have outnumbered men as teachers and then only in some areas. In fact, while women have always taught, passing on traditions and skills to their daughters and grand daughters, they have often been excluded from formal educational institutions and they have received little respect for the work they have done (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Prentice, 1990; Prentice & Theobald, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1989b).

Women in religious orders were among the first to become involved in what would be considered formal educational institutions. In the 1500s Angela Merici, later Saint Angela, established a new order of nuns which she patterned after the Jesuits and which she called the Ursulines. The Ursulines were not the first religious women to be involved in teaching, for convents had long been a source of educational enlightenment for young women, but they were the forerunners of several orders specifically developed for the purpose of teaching. The Ursulines devoted their lives to teaching in the "Christian Spirit", getting to know each girl and protecting their young charges from "the trickery of worldly people" (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988, p. 239). Other devout women were to follow Saint Angela's path and establish orders that became the principal means of education for young Catholic girls.

Outside of the convent, young girls could learn at home from their

mothers, or they were frequently sent to the homes of other women, be they strangers or relatives, either to learn to be a lady or to learn a skill or craft. This form of informal governessing of young girls is an age-old tradition (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988). In 1792, when she wrote On the Vindication of the Rights of Women, Mary Wollstonecraft referred to the employment possibilities available to women (Wollstonecraft, 1792). While few prospects were found, she does mention that when a "superior education enables ...[women] to take charge of the education of children as governesses, they are not treated like the tutors of sons" (Wollstonecraft, 1792, p. 261). She evidently views such work as "menial" and a "fall in life" (p.261) for those women required by necessity to fill such positions. Continuing into the 1800s, young single women and widows entered into positions as governesses and as teachers of young children to gain some small salary, yet they were consistently paid a lower wage than their male counterparts (Shakeshaft, 1989b). Regardless of their noted abilities as governesses and as teaching nuns, on the whole, women were not considered employable as teachers in formal educational settings.

In the first North American schools for example, it is clear from the records that the injunction of St. Paul "I shall permit not a woman to teach" was clearly enforced (Shakeshaft, 1989b, p.24). By Colonial times, however, a dearth of qualified men forced many schools to rethink hiring women to teach

the younger children. Uneducated themselves, these women often taught for one fifth of the salary of their male colleagues. During the mid 1800s, advocates for women teachers such as Catherine Beecher and Emma Willard rationalized that women were actually ideal teachers. With their natural caring and nurturing attitude, women would find this a job that would provide an excellent training ground for their future role or "natural destiny" as wife and mother (Shakeshaft, 1989b). Teaching of young children thus became a "natural profession" for women. School trustees, suffering a paucity of willing male teachers, listened favourably to the arguments such women made. The fact that women were cheap; in Massachusetts in 1838, women earned \$6.49 a month while men earned \$23.10, undoubtedly made the hiring decision easier. Yet, even while women were now considered ideal employees they were not considered strong enough for positions teaching older children or for positions of authority (Mah, 1985; Tyack & Strober, 1981). In fact they were considered ideal subordinates. Not only was it thought that they were "constitutionally incapable of discipline" but they were also considered to be only temporary members of the work force for, once they were married, they were expected to go home to raise their own children (Prentice, 1990; Prentice & Theobald, 1991; Shakeshaft ,1989b; Staton & Light, 1987; Tyack & Strober, 1981).

At the turn of the century, an increasing number of women were finding

employment as teachers. The developing trends towards universal education, initiated in the mid to late 1800s, coupled with the extension of compulsory attendance (in Ontario this was extended to age 16 in 1919) had meant that school board trustees needed an ever-increasing pool of cheap labour.

Simultaneously, increased industrialization and urbanization had expanded the number of alternative career prospects for men thus decreasing the number of men willing to work in the classroom. Rather reluctantly, trustees turned to women to fill positions (Prentice, 1990). According to census information, by the 1920s women outnumbered men in the teaching profession within Ontario. It finally appeared as if teaching had become a feminine profession (Eastman, 1990; Ortiz, 1982; Prentice, 1990; Reynolds, 1990; Schmuck, 1981). Yet, while teaching in formal institutions had finally become accessible to more women, for many women it remained inaccessible.

Women had long been discouraged from continuing in teaching once they married. The arguments indicated that married women had no financial need for continued employment and would soon be busy looking after their own children. In times of economic depression, when married women might now need the additional income that teaching provided, the jobs were given to men as it was considered that they were more deserving due to their status as primary breadwinner. To preserve male jobs, rules were developed which restricted women from continuing in the profession once they married

(Reynolds, 1990). During times of necessity, as for example during the Second World War, trustees temporarily suspended these strictures so that married women could fill the positions vacated by men who had gone off to war (Reynolds, 1990). This work by the women became their "contribution" to the war effort.

At the end of the war, many boards, including the Toronto Board of Education attempted to go back to the prewar conditions of restricting teaching to unmarried women (Prentice, 1990; Reynolds, 1990). The arguments for this were twofold. The men, returning from war, were once again in the position of primary breadwinner and thus were felt to be in greater need of teaching positions in the schools. Secondly, it was argued that married women were excellent with children and thus should stay at home with their own, ironically an argument very similar to the one used by women to gain access to teaching in the first place (Shakeshaft, 1989b). Ultimately, the fight had at its heart a weightier concern. Married women teachers posed a threat to male teachers. The longer women stayed in the profession, the more seniority they would attain. These high seniority women could, it was felt, begin to compete with men for administrative positions (Reynolds, 1990). It became apparent that educators wished to make use of the best of feminine virtues without wishing to limit the traditional male roles within the school (Staton & Light, 1987). Proponents arguing for the inclusion of married women indicated that, as a

mother, a married teacher had a better understanding of the needs of other children, and thus would be a better teacher than a single woman. In May of 1946, the Toronto Board voted to allow women teachers to remain on staff after marriage although one supporter of married teachers did state that "after a few years of teaching, combined with marriage the teachers will have the good sense to leave and set up a home" (Reynolds, 1990, p. 161). Thus, while the rules had changed, the underlying assumptions of the roles of men and women in education continue to be firmly entrenched in patriarchal dogma.

While in the majority of cases women had been restricted to teaching young children it is wrong to assume that no women were administrators. In rural areas, where there was a one room school house the female teacher was all things; teacher, janitor and administrator. As well, there is a strong tradition of private girls' schools efficiently and capably run by women and of course the religious orders run for centuries by committed and dedicated women such as Saint Angela (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Prentice, 1990; Prentice & Theobald, 1991). Nevertheless, in the majority of the school systems, societal attitude and beliefs about women's abilities, coupled with the aforementioned strictures on married women, inhibited women from advancing up the career ladder (Shakeshaft, 1989b). Even once women were allowed to remain teaching after marriage, they remained firmly entrenched within the classroom. With the advent of civil rights and affirmative action programs beginning in the 1960s, it

was hoped that at last women would move more freely into the administrator's chair. That women have not gained the access to the administrator's chair that early female educators, such as Ella Flagg Young, felt was a woman's natural destiny cannot be easily explained.

Much early research has centred on blaming the victim. Women either did not have what it took to be administrators or were uninterested in the role. More recently, feminist researchers have focused on examining the roles that women and men are expected to play in our society. These roles are defined through the development of a gender role socialization that infuses all aspects of our culture. As Martin (1993) explains, social behaviour is socially constructed, culturally determined and cognitively sustained. In effect, socialization is the process by which the different roles that individuals play in our society are learned (Martin, 1993). While some researchers would thus "blame the victim" it is perhaps more accurate to show the interplay that gender role socialization has on the development of formal and informal structures that impact heavily on the career behaviour of both men and women (Adkison, 1981). Thus to understand why women are not administrators it is important to first understand what roles women learn to play within our culture.

Gender Role Socialization

"This has always been a man's world". With these words Simone de Beauvoir in her book The Second Sex, began her examination of "how the

hierarchy of the sexes was established" (de Beauvoir, 1952, p. 61). While it is clear that by the time of the first written documents of the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews, women were in a subordinate position to men, and anthropologists such as Margaret Mead, have found that many other ancient societies are inherently imbedded with male dominance, it is not at all clear how such subordination and the related gender differences in behaviour developed (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Measor & Sikes, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1989b; Stockard & Johnson, 1981; Wilson, 1991). The discussion centres around whether or not gender differences arise naturally or whether they are produced from the nurturing that individuals receive as they are raised in any particular society.

Biological Determinists argue that males and females differ in their behaviour because they differ in their genetic makeup. It is certainly undisputed that males and females have differing chromosomes; males have an X and Y chromosome and females have two X chromosomes. It is also clear that males and females have different hormonal influences and that women have the ability to bear children while men do not. The capacity for lactation has led women to be primarily responsible for the care and nurturing of infants but there is no biological reason for the subsequent primary role women have in raising children. Hence, women's early role in child care does not, in and of itself lead to subordination of women (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988).

It is unclear, however, what effect, if any, these biological differences may have on behaviour. The key difficulty in determining the relationship biology has on behaviour is that studies that eliminate socialization effects can only be done on animals, most especially primates. Though primates and humans offer many similarities biologically, they offer markedly different behaviours socially (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Measor & Sikes, 1992). In experiments on humans it is impossible to remove all influence of socialization from any study to clearly see the individual effect nature has on the subsequent development of gender-related patterns of behaviour (Measor & Sikes, 1992). Thus biological evidence provides no concrete explanation for gender-related differences that could lead to the subordination of women in our society. To gain a better understanding of gender-related differences in behaviour, insights provided by psychological and social theories are examined.

Psychological theories indicate that female subordination may have arisen from a complex series of male emotional responses to perceived sexual frailty and vulnerability. Psychoanalytical theories have at their root, the work of Sigmund Freud and though he felt that women were less completely developed than men, more recent theories take the viewpoint that men fear and envy women. These theorists concentrate on the early development of children and how they develop their individual identities (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Chodorow, 1974; Measor & Sikes, 1992; Miles, 1991).

As young children, both boys and girls have extremely strong attachments to their mothers who remain in most societies the primary caregiver. In the course of developing as autonomous individuals, this attachment must be broken. The result, for girls, is that they can naturally identify with their primary caregiver. "For girls, early development is more continuous and femininity can be easily constructed in terms of motherhood" (Chodorow, 1974). As well, girls have a physical sign, menstruation, of their passage into womanhood and an obvious function as mother in the future. In contrast, boys have a more difficult time developing a masculine construct. Not only must they break away from their primary caregiver and realign themselves with what is masculine, but also they have no obvious role and no obvious sign of entering manhood. Males compensated, by developing rites of passage that can, at times involve inflicting much pain, and by a desire to be in control of, or superior to women (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; de Beauvoir, 1952; Miles, 1991). It is also felt that in attempting to identify what is masculine, boys may begin to fear or dread all that is related to or associated with the feminine (Measor & Sikes, 1992). Chodorow (1974) suggests that boys, in achieving manhood, will tend to devalue and attack girls and all things feminine. Differences in how boys and girls develop their gender identities will have lasting and significant effects on how they deal with and experience individuals and events (Chodorow, 1974; Gilligan, 1982).

Socialization Theorists combine anthropological evidence and merge it with biological and psychological theories. Socialization is defined as the process by which an individual learns to be a member of his or her society. The patterns of thought and behaviour that are deemed acceptable within our society are all taught to us by the various agents of socialization. These agents include: our family, our teachers, other children, and the media. While patterns of acceptable behaviour within a society do change with time, there are many traditions that can be inherited throughout generations (Measor & Sikes, 1992; Wilson, 1991). Socialization Theorists, relying on anthropological evidence, argue that traditions of subordination of women and gender-related behaviours are some of these inherited traditions.

Anthropological evidence examining early cultures finds that the development of a warrior-based culture tends to be tied with the development of female subordination. It is thought that as early European cultures became increasingly involved in warfare, males and females developed different tasks within the community. As women were able to give birth and could nurse, they, by necessity, needed to stay close to home while men were freer to leave and thus became hunters and warriors (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; de Beauvoir, 1952). As a result of these biological differences, men were trained to be aggressive while women were expected to be submissive and subordinate. Thus female subordination could be a social construct resulting from the

development of the warrior-based culture (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988) . The Iliad, Odyssey, Laws of Rome and the Bible were early writings that shaped and influenced the development of Europe. All of these writings are based on warrior cultures. Their stories, morals and ethics became the traditions the European women would inherit. In all of the writings, as well as in Celtic and Germanic lore, women were subordinate to men. Thus the societies that form the cultural background for European society, and by extension much of North American society, have as their core the denigration and devaluation of women (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988).

In the male-dominated world that developed in Europe, the approved roles of wife, mother and widow meant that marriage was the primary goal of young women. Through marriage, however, the woman merely passed from parental to spousal authority. While expected to be nurturer, and caregiver, to her often large family, a woman also was expected to provide for her family in times of need. In providing for her family, a woman battled against traditions, instituted in the Roman Laws and the Bible that had already established that a woman was valued less than a man. Thus for centuries, women were paid less than men for the same job, be that in the field or elsewhere. While women could take on informal positions of authority, they were rarely asked to take on formal positions of true power (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; de Beauvoir, 1952). As our society changed over the centuries, becoming more industrialized and

less dependent on gender-related division of labour, women found it very difficult to escape completely from the subordinating traditions they had inherited from their ancestors. Once the patriarchal foundation was laid, it was extremely difficult to shatter.

Although it remains unclear how the subordination of women and subsequent gender role stereotyping might come into existence in the first place, it is clear that, within our society, women, their roles, their values and their feelings, continue to be devalued. Such a world is said to be androcentric in its bias. Our institutions reflect, foster and perpetuate such a bias. Women and men thus have approved roles, values and norms of behaviour that are deemed acceptable. Our understanding of the barriers that women face in entering educational administration must begin with an understanding of the socially acceptable behaviours available to women.

In the androcentric world that we have inherited, girls are taught at a very early age what is appropriate behaviour, part of our social norms and values, and what is not (Marshall, 1981). Girls are taught to be neat, clean, pretty, quiet and dependent. They are encouraged to develop characteristics considered to be typically feminine such as passivity, empathy, patience and compliance. Boys, on the other hand, are encouraged to talk, be aggressive, competitive, independent, analytical and critical (Adkison, 1981; Gaskell et al., 1989; Sexton, 1976; Tibbetts, 1979; Weber, Feldman & Poling, 1981). In

schools, these role stereotypes are perpetuated when boys get more attention, compete in sports teams more often and are singled out for special needs more frequently (Gaskell et al., 1989; Measor & Sikes, 1992).

Tibbetts (1979) reports that prekindergarten children already feel that boys are smarter and can work better, while girls are better cooks. By the second grade, girls and boys are already segregated along gender lines (Shakeshaft, 1989a). By high school, girls begin to denigrate their own abilities believing that their success results from easy tests rather than self-accomplishment. They begin to participate less in class discussions and their scores on aptitude tests begin to decline (Measor & Sikes, 1992; Tibbetts, 1979). While not actively counselled against such things, girls are not encouraged to join team sports, take leadership roles or pursue untraditional careers (Adkison, 1981; Gaskell et al., 1989; Sexton, 1976; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991).

Feminist scholars recognized early on that stereotypical portrayals within textbooks used in education, disadvantaged girls in their aspirations and career plans by perpetuating gender role differentiation. While lobbyists have instigated many changes, instituting non sexist guidelines, the Federation of Women Teachers of Ontario, as recently as 1988, found discrepancies in portrayals still existed. Women are still portrayed in stereotypical roles, with stereotypical behaviours. In storybooks, the man still "plays golf", is a "truck

driver" and is less emotional while the women were "witches", "true and loyal friends", "joining their husbands in Montreal" (FWTAO, 1988). Studies have indicated that by the time students reach prekindergarten, they already understand clearly the roles that are appropriate for boys, and those appropriate for girls (Tibbetts, 1979). A study performed in 1986 by Labour Canada found that girls and boys differed in their expectations of career possibilities. Girls felt that their future involved being a wife and mother, constantly taking care of young children, seemingly oblivious to the number of years that a woman can spend with independent children. The girls and boys questioned differed in their responses concerning the attractiveness of careers that involved advanced education or mechanical skills (Labour Canada, 1986).

Not only does the curriculum that girls are presented with predominantly display women in stereotypical roles, thus perpetuating gender differentiation, it also omits discussing the significant contributions that women have made historically. Thus, the role models that girls primarily are exposed to remain those of the storybooks. Likewise, the structure of the school hierarchy provides few role models and little support for girls wishing to develop their career potential (Gaskell et al., 1989). Traditions subordinating women, stereotypical reading material and attitudes within society and within schools are not the only impediments placed in front of girls as they attempt to claim an education that will enable them to see the greatest potential in their

future careers. The entire framework behind the approach that educators have to education, by its nature, impedes girls and women from achieving their full potential.

Historically, the educational system has been centred on the developmental stepping stones of the male. Teaching methodologies emphasize an approach that is more attuned to male models of learning and tied into specific stages of male development (Gaskell et al., 1989; Gilligan, 1982). The "ideal" educated person is a male ideal, displaying highly valued and typically male characteristics and traits such as independence, dominance, competition, as well as being analytical, rational, logical, and decisive. Less desirable traits are the "typical" female traits of being nurturing, caring, supportive, dependent, emotional and submissive (Gaskell et al., 1989; Measor & Sikes, 1992; Tibbetts, 1979). In this fashion the educational structure itself does much to maintain and enhance the sex role socialization to which women are subjected. In order to succeed in education, as in their later careers, women need to deny their feminine side. By the time a woman has completed her education, she enters the androcentric world of work socialized in a gender-typed fashion (Haddad, 1990).

Gender-related differences in behaviour may have originated historically as a result of biological differences or as a result of differing psychological developmental process, but there is strong evidence that they persist in our

society due to the ongoing socialization to which both girls and boys are exposed. Researchers on gender issues regarding educational administration feel that the barriers that create the glass ceiling that women encounter as they climb the educational hierarchy result from the combination of gender-stereotyped socialization that women experience and the structure of the androcentrically oriented educational organization itself.

Organizational Structure

Currently, theorists examining the lack of women in educational administration have focused their attention not on the deficits of the women, but instead on the deficits of the system as a whole. These theorists believe that when women choose to become teachers they are entering a world of work that, by its very nature, precludes their establishing a foothold in the hierarchy of administration. Several models of organizational structure exist but two in particular are helpful in examining the gender-typed nature of the world of work that women enter. The first is the Bureaucratic Model of organizations developed by Max Weber, while the second is the Social Systems Model developed by Talcott Parsons (Parsons, 1970; Weber, 1970).

According to the Bureaucratic Model for organizations, a truly bureaucratic organization is one in which there is a distinct hierarchy where officials, appointed to their positions, hold an abstract authority over their subordinates (Weber, 1970). Such an organization is based on a set of rules

and is founded on an expert knowledge base. This type of rational model to organizational structures is the model used by the male-dominated fields of business administration and industry and it has been copied for educational administration.

The majority of educational systems are becoming increasingly bureaucratized and while it is important to note that Weber's ideal type does not exist in the educational context, variations do. The hierarchy of authority, rules for incumbents, procedural specifications and impersonality as well as technical expertise and competence will be present to some extent in each situation (Hoy & Miskel, 1987). The trend towards increasing the educational requirements for administrators acts to separate teaching and administration further, thus increasing the sense of mystery surrounding the upper management of schools. As Thomas Sergiovanni (1991) points out, this acts to alienate and exclude more women and further subordinate the role of teacher. Thus the bureaucratic model, with its norms of rational legalism and its ubiquitous male referent, adapted as mentioned from male-dominated industrialized settings, creates a system that devalues the role of women, for in such a society women have developed the antithesis of these characteristics (Hendricks, 1992).

According to the Social Systems Model, as developed by Talcott Parsons, organizations are established in order to achieve a goal. These goals are legitimized by the values of the surrounding society. Organizations are

defined with respect to their locations within the structure of the society in general. Hence, pattern maintenance organizations, such as schools, will act to reflect and reaffirm the values of the society in which they are located (Hoy & Miskel, 1987; Parsons, 1970). Thus, if it is agreed that ours is a male-dominated society, the school and hence the school administration, will reflect the values of society by devaluing the role of the female. This can be seen not only in the goals of education, which pattern a boy's development more than a girls, but also in the very structure of the school which is more suited to a boy than a girl (Sexton, 1976; Shakeshaft, 1989b). For a woman to take a significant role in educational administration would necessitate a role conflict with societal norms and values. This in turn creates a stigma on the woman that can lead to stress, guilt and anxiety (Adkison, 1981; Marshall, 1985; Martin, 1993). The structure of the school also lowers the perceived opportunities for women, thus lowering their aspiration (Kanter, 1977; Wheatley, 1981).

Organizational theory reveals for us that there may indeed be prejudice and informal norms and roles within an organization which, by their very nature, exclude women. The bureaucratic school is governed by power, rationality and individualism; these are all characteristics that run counter to those values that women hold most dear (Glazer, 1991). It is important, though, to understand that these organizations do not act in a vacuum. As

Parsons (1970) indicates, schools are under external constraints which in themselves exclude women. Thus in actuality it is the interplay between the bureaucratic, pattern maintenance structure of the school and the prior gender role socialization of women that combine to create the barriers, the glass ceiling that women are finding prohibits their access to the higher levels of educational administration.

Barriers to Women Entering Administration

In the past, the barriers that women face as they enter into educational administration have been broken down into internal and external barriers. This type of differentiation, by its very nature, tends to blame the victim for her failure to advance. In actuality, it can be seen that many of the internal barriers stem from the androcentric nature of the administrative hierarchy, coupled with the gender role socialization that women possess when they enter the work force. A now widely accepted model utilized to examine barriers was put forward by Hansot and Tyack in 1981 (cited in Shakeshaft, 1989b). This model portrays a world that is male dominated and male run. From this model, both internal barriers and external barriers can be seen more clearly as outgrowths of the relationship between the role women are expected to play and the power men are presumed to hold.

In 1985, Charol Shakeshaft described some of the barriers that impede women from gaining access to the administrator's chair. These included: (a)

poor self-image or lack of confidence, (b) lack of aspiration or motivation, (c) lack of support, encouragement and counselling, (d) family and home responsibilities, (e) socialization and gender role stereotyping, (f) lack of preparation or experience, (g) lack of finances for training, (h) too few role models, (i) lack of sponsors/mentors, (j) lack of a network, (k) sex discrimination in hiring and promotion and (l) sexist curriculum materials (Edson, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1985). According to Hansot and Tyack's model, which Shakeshaft herself further developed in 1989, these barriers are resultant from the gender role socialization which women possess as they enter the world of work that men developed (Shakeshaft, 1989b).

Lack of self-confidence, as an example, is present in women because they have been raised in our culture to believe that they are lacking in ability (Porat, 1985; Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1989b). As well, they have been prevented from participating in activities in the public sphere which would provide them with opportunities to develop skills appropriate to administrative tasks (Adkison, 1981; Gilligan, 1982). In other words, women are not socialized to possess the skills and traits that are required by administrators (Haddad, 1990; Marshall, 1981). It can be argued that any individual, male or female, who does not possess the requisite skills required for a task, will also not possess a high degree of self-confidence towards that task (Kanter, 1977). Thus women are constrained by society.

It has been a commonly held belief that women do not aspire to positions in the educational hierarchy (Fauth, 1984). While some researchers would interpret this as a lack of personal career commitment on the side of women it can be more clearly understood as an offshoot of lack of support and encouragement and lack of perceived availability of positions (Fauth, 1984). Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) in her classic study of men and women in management, found that aspiration, in fact, is based on perceived opportunity. She found that if an individual does not perceive that there is opportunity to succeed they will, in fact, lower their aspirations (Kanter, 1977; Tibbetts, 1979; Wheatley, 1981). Even when opportunities do exist, the lack of women in positions of authority creates the impression that advancement is impossible, thus creating no visible opportunity for success (Carlson & Schmuck, 1981). Thus low aspirations in women are, more accurately, reflections of structural barriers that prevent women from moving into educational hierarchy.

As well, studies indicate that organizational and structural norms prevent women from openly admitting their aspirations, thus making it appear that they do not aspire (Shakeshaft, 1989b; Ortiz, 1982; Wyatt, 1990). Despite all of this, Edson (1988), in her study of female aspirants to the administrator's chair found that there are women who are ambitious and aspire to rise through the hierarchy. This is supported by the statistics from the Ministry of Education for Ontario, which indicates that the number of women surpasses

men as successful candidates in both the supervisory officer's and principal's courses (Ministry of Education, 1992).

Shakeshaft (1985) indicated that one of the barriers faced by women is their home responsibilities. Sue Wilson (1991) in Women, Families and Work, reports that within Canada it still falls on the shoulders of the women to do the housework and be the primary caregiver. Thus working women have a "second shift". Collinson (1989) suggests that women aspiring to educational administration need to develop coping strategies to deal with their home responsibilities. One such recommended strategy is to utilize nannies and housekeepers. As women in our society have traditionally been responsible for housework and caregiving, and society remains ambivalent about the role men should take in such work, the working woman is faced with the struggle between negotiating for help or being superwoman (Fauth, 1984; Wilson, 1991). While women have made several advances in the past few years, there are certain age-old stereotypes that women find difficult to break.

The lack of support that many women receive from their husbands in regard to housework is added to the lack of support and encouragement that women receive for their career choice in considering administration. Many women administrators find that society does not approve of their decision to enter into the male domain of administration. This is reflected in the lack of support they receive from their family and colleagues (Edson, 1988; Nieva &

Gutek, 1981; Porat, 1985). In entering into a male profession, women are working against the gender-stereotyped roles available to them. This creates a role conflict that women often mention they experience. Women administrators describe the stigma they feel is attached to them (Marshall, 1981; Marshall, 1985; Martin, 1993). Such a stigma is normally attached to anyone who is deviant or abnormal in some fashion. In going against what is part of society's roles and norms for women, the female administrator is thus deviant and becomes stigmatized (Eastman, 1989; Marshall, 1985). Women thus experience a lack of support for their role as a direct outcome of the androcentric nature of society. Within the job itself, the woman administrator is often a token member of her sex, which can act to put further stresses on her (Kanter, 1977; Wheatley, 1981).

One of the ways men receive support and encouragement in their career is through mentoring relationships and networking. Not only do these relationships provide men with much-needed support as they climb the hierarchical ladder, they also provide them with access to anticipatory socialization which provides men with the needed preparation and experience for later administrative positions. As well, both mentoring and networking are proven means to developing a power base needed for attaining an administrative position (Grow Maienza, 1986; Kanter, 1977; Moore, 1982). While both mentoring and networking are strategies for success commonly

present for men, the absence of these are listed as barriers for women (Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1985; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). Thus, a more in-depth examination of these two mechanisms is appropriate.

Mentoring

The concept of mentoring or sponsor-protégé relationships originated in Greek mythology when Odysseus entrusted the education of his son Telemachus to a trusted counsellor and friend, Mentor (Dodgson, 1986; Hunt & Michael 1983). Since that time, mentorship has come to mean many things, including master-apprentice, physician-intern and teacher-student (Hunt & Michael, 1983). Jacobi's (1991) review of the literature on the topic indicates that researchers have often utilized diverse definitions of mentoring, dependent on the field of study. Thus, development psychologists, business people and academics all use slightly different definitions.

The definition used for the purpose of this study is that presented by Zey in Jacobi's (1991) review. "A mentor is a person who oversees the career and development of another person, usually a junior, through teaching, counselling, providing psychological support, protecting and at times promoting and sponsoring" (Jacobi, 1991, p. 508). This definition is chosen as it comes from the field of management and organizational behaviour and is similar to that presented by other authors (Dodgson, 1986; McNeer, 1986). The person who is mentored is called the protégé or protégée. For the purposes of this

study the word protégé will include both males and females.

Mentors are traditionally individuals within an organization who are older, by eight to fifteen years than the protégé, are highly placed, more experienced and willing to share information (Hunt & Michael, 1983). Mentors will often select their protégé based on perceived talent or potential but it is also possible that a mentor protégé relationship can be initiated by chance or by the protégé actively seeking out the mentor (Dodgson, 1986; Moore, 1982; Noe, 1988). While the mentor-protégé relationship is often informal, there is an increasing trend for organizations to develop formal systems for instituting mentoring relationships within their structure (Noe, 1988). Dodgson (1986) in her study of mentor relationships in the careers of women in educational administration in Canada found that the women involved describe two different types of mentors. One was the Career Mentor who oversaw career development and the other was the Life Mentor with whom they had a relationship for a much more extended time period and who assisted the protégé in life development (Dodgson 1986; McNeer, 1986). Wentling (1992), in her examination of Fortune 500 companies, found that women often indicated that they had more than one mentor throughout their careers.

Mentors provide many functions for the protégé which are related to three important components of the mentoring relationship. These are: (a) emotional and psychological support, (b) direct assistance with career and

professional development and (c) role modelling (Jacobi, 1991). In general then, the role of the mentor is to assist not only with the career development of an individual but also with psychosocial components of their lives (Jacobi, 1991). This relates with Dodgson's (1986) findings of the two types of mentors that some individuals experience. The mentor assists the protégé by providing technical support, respect, encouragement, acknowledgement, feedback and advice (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1992; Hunt & Michael, 1983; McNeer, 1986; Wentling, 1992). The mentor shares his or her experience and competence with the protégé and provides the protégé with access to the inner circle of power within the organization (Dodgson, 1986; Moore, 1982; Wentling, 1992). In this fashion, the mentor effectively allows the protégé to bypass the hierarchy of the organization (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977; Nieva & Gutek, 1981). By informing the protégé of the informal norms and rules of an organization, the mentor acts to improve the opportunities for advancement for the protégé (Dodgson, 1986; Moore, 1982). Being in a higher position than the protégé, the mentor also affords the protégé much needed visibility and professional contacts (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977; Moore, 1982; Wentling, 1992). The mentors frequently have access to influential people, resources and information and this is passed on to the protégé, thus enabling the protégé to have closer ties to the organization (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977).

The mentor can advance the protégé's career in a number of different fashions. By nominating the protégé to prestigious committees and work groups, the mentor thus provides the protégé with exposure and visibility and enables anticipatory socialization for later roles within the hierarchy (Adkison, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Noe, 1988). As well, the mentor can protect the protégé in controversial situations by fighting their battles for them (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977; Noe, 1988).

The mentor-protégé relationship benefits the protégé, the mentor and the organization. For the protégés, the obvious benefit is the assistance they receive for their careers (Dodgson, 1986; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). In addition, protégés are found to have greater self-confidence, self-esteem, and a greater degree of job satisfaction. These allow the protégé to have a greater confidence in experimenting with new techniques and new ideas (Haslett et al., 1992; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Noe, 1988). Nelson and Quick (1985) have documented that involvement in mentoring reduces the stress associated with a career in a nongender-typed field such as administration by providing the protégé with much needed support and encouragement.

For the mentors, the benefits include a rejuvenation of their own career, as well as increased status and esteem in their colleagues' eyes. Most mentors enjoy the opportunity the relationship provides for them to pass on their expertise and to allow for continuity of their work by training a successor

(Hunt & Michael, 1983; Jacobi, 1991; Nieva & Gutek, 1981). For the organization, the benefits include an increased loyalty on behalf of the protégé, who tends to be better educated, better paid and less mobile than a non-mentored peer (Hunt & Michael, 1983). As well, mentorship aids in the development of a talented pool of management for the organization (Hunt & Michael, 1983).

Yet, while the benefits of mentor relationships are significant there are also some drawbacks. Eventually mentor-protégé relationships dissolve. This occurs when the mentor can no longer provide useful assistance to the protégé. Whether this occurs due to the mentor losing power or the protégé becoming a peer with the mentor, the result can occasionally mean that the relationship becomes strained (Hunt & Michael, 1983). Strain in the relationship can also occur when the protégé follows a path that is counter to the desires of the mentor. In these situations, the mentor may feel that the protégé is actually harming his or her own status. Thus the protégé is often, unconsciously used by the mentor to further the mentor's own career (Moore, 1982).

While there are, in some cases, downfalls to involvement in mentoring relationships there is substantial evidence that women in particular can benefit significantly from these relationships (Haslett et al., 1992; Porat, 1985; Reynolds, 1989; Swiderski, 1988). Wentling (1992), in her study of Fortune 500 companies found that of the women who held executive positions, 90%

had a minimum of one mentor relationship. Women, especially, require mentors so that they can learn to understand the male-dominated business culture as well as be identified for promotion (Powell, 1993). Dodgson (1986) found that access to a mentor was a significant, although admittedly not consistent, determinant of success. Edson (1981), in her study of aspiring women, found that not having a mentor was, in fact, a deterrent to a successful career for women. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) in Men and Women of the Corporation found that while mentoring, or as she termed them, sponsoring relationships were important for men they are "absolutely essential for women". Indeed it appears that for women to break the glass ceiling they need the advocacy that a sponsor or mentor provides for them (Morrison et al., 1987).

Although it is evident that women require mentors to achieve success in their careers, it is also evident that there are several barriers that restrict them from obtaining mentoring relationships (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Studies indicate that the most successful mentoring relationships are those that are same gender relationships (Moore, 1982). The paucity of women available to be mentors or role models thus limits the number of women who can gain mentors of the same gender (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Leong, Snodgrass & Gardner, 1992). Studies also indicate that those few women who are in positions of power, and thus able to act as mentors to women beginning their careers as administrators, are unwilling to take on this role (Dodgson, 1986; Kanter, 1977;

Moore, 1982; Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Noe, 1988; Powell, 1993).

Often referred to as the Queen Bee Syndrome, the situation of women administrators not supporting other women is well documented (Berry & Kushner, 1979; Dodgson, 1986). The Queen Bee is in fact a token within the organization. Having most likely been sponsored herself, she enjoys a privileged, albeit stressful, position within the elite administrators (Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Powell, 1993). The token, as Kanter (1977) describes, has an increased visibility, an increased pressure to conform. The token's behaviour is closely watched and thus she has a restricted freedom of behaviour. Her position is at the same time tenuous and special (Kanter, 1977; Powell, 1993). For these tokens, involvement with a women protégé can be seen as a threat to their privileged position within the hierarchy. As well, the tenuousness and high visibility of their position makes them nervous of the risks involved in associating themselves with an individual who could flounder (Dodgson, 1986; Moore, 1982; Powell, 1993). In an effort to fit into the male model of management, women administrators tend to reject all that is associated with the unaccepted or feminine (Kanter, 1977; Nieva & Gutek, 1981). For these individuals, association with a women protégé would highlight the differences that they are trying so hard to overcome.

Since same-gender mentoring relationships are difficult to obtain, most women turn to cross-gender relationships. These are also problematical (Leong

et al., 1992). Once again the issue of tokenism arises. In this case the female protégé, as a token, poses a high risk for the mentor to accept. Her high visibility heightens his power if she is successful but increases his personal risk if she should fail (Kanter, 1977; Noe, 1988). While tokenism can salve a mentor's conscience by presenting an egalitarian image it may actually maintain a discriminatory practice by distancing the token from her gender group (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). This relates to the key issue in cross-gender mentoring relationships which is lack of similarity. In order for a mentoring relationship to work effectively, there needs to be similarity between the norms of the mentor and the protégé (Haslett et al., 1992; Leong et al., 1992; Moore, 1982). Subconsciously, mentors will select individuals that they feel resemble themselves. This can relate to administrative skills as well as gender (Fauth, 1984). In her companion studies of 1973 and 1975, Virginia Schein found that there is a greater similarity between males and managers than between either women and managers or women and men. Complicating the issue further is the still-held belief that women are uninterested in career advancement and therefore are not in need of a mentor (Noe, 1988).

When women are accepted by male mentors, it is found that they possess many of the characteristics of the male-dominated group (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). This supports the previously mentioned notion of the need for similarity. Acceptance, though, does not bring an end to the difficulties for

women. Once accepted in a cross-gendered relationship, the problem of sexual tension can often arise (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Noe, 1988). Such cross-gender relationships suffer from increased public scrutiny and show signs that the psychosocial function of mentoring is reduced (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977). As well, such relationships are frequently not viewed as professionally appropriate (Marshall, 1985). Nevertheless there is evidence that, for women, a cross-gendered relationship could be more important compared to the same-gender relationship as the male mentor frequently has a greater power base available than does a female mentor (Noe, 1988).

Women cannot continue to "naively think that competence is enough" to allow them access to the administrator's chair (Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Powell, 1993). Indeed, Samuel Johnson in a letter from 1741 stated that "mere unassisted merit advances slowly if ... it advances at all" (cited in Moore, 1982, p. 23). Although difficult to obtain, women should strive to gain access to this important source of power. As Ortiz and Covell (1978) found in their study of a female school principal, the need for a sponsor is greater for women than it is for men, most probably because women are frequently excluded from formal and informal networks that are at work within an organization (Ortiz and Covell, 1978). For women, mentoring provides an access to the Old Boy's Network, that has for so long, been closed to them.

Networks

A network is a difficult word to define, and, in fact, it is a word that has been taken up by many fields from business to science to computer science. While it is difficult to find a definition for either the noun or the associated verb, few people would misunderstand what is meant by the term "The Old Boy's Network" or more commonly the "Old Boy's Club" (Schmuck, 1986). Since time immemorial the "Old Boy's Network" has referred to a private, informal, unconsciously formed group of men who possess the true power within a community, or an organization (Schmuck, 1986; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). For the purpose of this study networks will mean any group of individuals who pass on information in an informal fashion, away from the formal lines of communication that are in existence within an organization (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992).

While it is difficult to find a true definition of a network within the literature, it is certainly not difficult to find reference to the role a network or the process of networking has on an individual's career. As mentioned, networks are informal groups which act as information conduits (Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). Networking is seen as an important way to gain contact with people, to let them know who you are and to gain access to information (Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). In climbing the hierarchical ladder of the bureaucratic structure of schools, men find that the informal network provides

valuable assistance in the guise of advanced information, preferential committee placement and quasi-administrative activities. These experiences tend to give practice at administrative tasks prior to promotion, thus enabling men to develop anticipatory behaviour that trains them for when they are finally promoted (Adkison, 1981; Adkison 1985; Collinson, 1989). These informal interactions involve not only an information exchange but also the exchange of favours, professional support and encouragement (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992). The connections obtained through networking also provide visibility for an individual and access to information regarding upcoming openings and new jobs (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991).

Within organizations, networks provide the information regarding the informal policies, rules and norms that are held by the organization. Through a network, one can determine who holds the positions of true power within a company, what the actual requirements of a position are, and the location, and means of accessing resources (Adkison, 1981; Brass, 1985; Wentling, 1992). On a personal level, networks provide their members with personal support, encouragement, and candid feedback thus improving the self-esteem of the participants (Metzger, 1985; Schmuck, 1986). They are also an important means of acquiring influence and the means for upward mobility (Brass, 1985).

Within educational administration, as the system becomes more bureaucratized, the importance of the informal networks increases.

Professionalism within schools has led to the decline in differences in extrinsic rewards that are available, thus the rewards gained through the informal network gain a greater importance (Adkison 1981; Wheatley, 1981).

Administrators can reward their staff by selecting them for attendance at conferences, training sessions and important meetings. Wheatley (1981) argues that the discretionary realm of the administrator positively affects males and negatively affects the females on staff. As information becomes more important on the informal network, women become increasingly marginalized within the organization (Adkison, 1981; Wheatley, 1981). Participation in extra-curricular activities such as coaching has in the past been a sure means of gaining access to the informal network. Principals often encourage prominent male coaches by assigning them temporary administrative assignments, such as coordinator of sports. Another important area to gain access to the informal network of power is through participation in community groups such as Rotary clubs, and Lions clubs. These groups have traditionally excluded women and thus act to further remove women from the informal power base (Adkison, 1981; Wheatley, 1981).

The type of quasi-administrative position provided by coaching, community involvement and committee work, provides for the participant an anticipatory socialization aspect, an important component of socialization towards an administrative position. Terborg (1977) indicates that anticipatory

socialization is the first stage in the socialization that occurs as an individual enters an organization. In this period, the individual learns the ropes, becoming familiar with the organization prior to gaining entrance. As part of the entire process of socialization, this stage must be completed successfully in order that the newcomer can become a contributing member of the new organization (Morrison et al., 1987; Terborg, 1977). Adkison (1981) finds that involvement in quasi-administrative positions is an important stepping stone towards being known and seen as involved within the administration. The skills learned from such a position serve the participant well, when later they enter a true administrative position. Without these skills, the female administrator suffers from an apparent lack of political savvy or know-how expected of the position (Wentling, 1992)

Women are excluded from networks. One hypothesis for this is that women, as newcomers to the organizational structure of educational administration are not fully aware of the existence of the informal networks (Brass, 1985). Another rationale, elucidated by Kanter (1977) indicates that networks encourage participation from those whose attitudes, experiences and values are similar to those held by the group (Brass, 1985; Kanter, 1977). For this reason, women are omitted and excluded. Kanter (1977) points out that women also frequently hold positions that are not key to the organization. She argues that it is the position that determines the degree of influence, thus,

employees who are not in key positions will find it very difficult to gain access to the informal network of information (Kanter, 1977; Stewart & Gudykunst, 1982).

Due to their exclusion from informal networks, women fail to get a chance to display their talents and skills. As well, they are omitted from the possibility of improving their skills throughout involvement in anticipatory socialization. Women indicate that they have difficulty in accurately perceiving the political environment of the organization of which they are a part, due to the lack of information regarding the informal rules and norms (Wentling, 1992). Women thus do not know who holds the true power, and are unaware of the legitimate means of operating within the organization (Wentling, 1992). Excluded from networks, women are also excluded from promotion possibilities (Slaugenwhite & Skok, 1991).

In many areas, women's groups have organized formal networks. Unlike the Old Boy's Network which develops unconsciously, these are developed consciously. Their purpose is to encourage women to proceed in their administrative career. These networks, existing in Canada and the United States, promote women for positions of responsibility, provide access for women access to role models within their field and provide the much needed support and encouragement that women do not get from the informal networks (Metzger, 1985; Schmuck, 1986; Speizer, 1984). As well, they provide for

women a means to developing a basis of power.

Power

Power, as Kanter (1977) stated, is a "loaded term". Its mere mention has both positive and negative connotations. Within our society, power refers to a continuum of controls, from the overt controls such as weapons of war and prisons, to the covert control that is internalized through socialization (Griscom, 1992). The English word power is actually derived from the Latin word *posse*: "to be able" (Kreisberg, 1992). Kanter (1977) defines power as the "ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals, he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977 p. 166). This definition is useful in that it relates more to the ability to mobilize resources to accomplish a task than it does to the issues of control or domination.

Power is an important aspect of successful leadership. It describes the ability of an individual to relate to other parts of the organization, to obtain for his or her members the necessary tools, information and resources to get the job done (Kanter, 1977). Mobility within an organization is dependent on power (Grow Maienza, 1986). As well, to be effective in a position, a manager or leader needs to understand power, its use and acquisition (Knoop, 1992; Smith & Grenier, 1982). Kanter's in-depth examination of the dynamics of power within a corporation that she called Indsco, has led to a greater

understanding of ways that power can be accumulated within an organization (Kanter, 1977). She indicates that power can be accumulated through an individual's activities and through their alliances.

For an activity to effectively accumulate power it must meet three criteria. To begin with, the activity must be extraordinary. Extraordinary activities are those containing a degree of risk, creativity or enterprise, in other words, aspects that set them apart from the normal functions of the organization. Secondly the activity must be highly visible, attracting the notice of other people within the organization. Finally, these extraordinary and visible activities must hold relevance to the organization (Kanter, 1977; Smith & Grenier, 1982).

Power can also be attained through alliances. Kanter (1977) mentions three types of alliances that function in the accumulation of power. The first two, mentoring and networking with peers, have already been dealt with extensively. Both, according to Kanter (1977) are vital means of gaining support, information and visibility within an organization. Finally Kanter (1977) discusses the importance of subordinates to acquiring power. The support of "the team" is a vital aspect of power acquisition, as the successful implementation of risk involving strategies depends on the support of the subordinates who are actively involved in the implementation itself (Kanter, 1977; Wheatley, 1981).

Those individuals within an organization who are not able to accumulate power are considered the powerless. These are the individuals who, by the nature of their position within a large bureaucracy, are not involved in tasks that could be visible or risk-taking in a relevant fashion. Powerless individuals are people outside of the informal network of information, who, lacking sponsors and alliances, can only rely on the usual bureaucratic, formal lines of communication and allocation of rewards. Powerlessness is also a felt by individuals who feel that they are stuck in a position of low opportunity or feel that there will be resistance to their taking on a position of leadership. Within the bureaucratically organized structure of educational administration, women are commonly the powerless (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977; Smith & Grenier, 1982).

The androcentric nature of our society has led us to develop power as a masculine characteristic (Kreisberg, 1992). Thus power, as domination or control over, is associated with typically male positions of policeman, politician, teacher, businessman and manager (Kanter, 1977; Kreisberg, 1992; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992). As such, a desire to be led by someone who has power, is often reflected as a desire to be led by a male (Kanter, 1977). Society associates power for women with aspects of power in reproductive and in familial roles, situations where women themselves do not feel power (Miller & Cummins, 1992). Thus society defines power in such a fashion as to

validate the power that men possess and invalidate the power women have (Miller & Cummins, 1992).

When women are able to attain positions that would seem to have power, they continue to be regarded in a negative fashion. Committees or departments headed by women are frequently seen as less important, less highly valued and less influential within an organization (Brass, 1985; Devanna, 1987; Haslett et al., 1992). When women exercise their power they are regarded negatively as they are going against the gender-stereotyped roles available to them (Haslett et al., 1992; Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Solomon et al., 1986). While there is no evidence that power strategies are different between men and women, there is evidence that supports the notion that women are viewed negatively when they utilize strategies that are characterized as typically male (Sagrestano, 1992). Women are expected to be in positions of low authority and hence are expected to act in certain fashions; when they act differently there is a lack of congruence with the gender role norms (Solomon et al., 1986). Because women are seen as less influential and less powerful, they are not accepted into the informal alliances they need to increase their power (Haslett et al., 1992; Kanter, 1977). Subsequently, women are not provided with promotional opportunities as frequently (Brass, 1985).

The view that women are less powerful, less influential and less possessing of traits required to be a leader is a significant consequence of

gender role socialization. A study by Porter, Gus and Jennings (1983) found that becoming a leader depends on being seen as a potential leader. In their study, they presented 484 students with pictures of women only, men only and women and men seated around a table. The students were asked to identify the leader of the group. In most instances the individual seated at the head of the table was picked as the leader of the group. The exception came when a woman was seated at the head of a mixed gender group. In these instances, the leader was identified as other individuals around the table (Porter et al., 1983). Thus, even unconsciously, the image of appropriateness of leaders remains masculine. Our society therefore has formed an image of a bureaucratic leader that is founded on the masculine (Berryman-Fink, 1985; Erickson, 1985; Kanter, 1977; Schein, 1973; Schein, 1975). Women, in attempting to gain access are constrained by the incongruence that results from their attempts to break away from gender-stereotyped norms of behaviour. Nevertheless women do gain access to the administrator's chair and it is important to examine their characteristics.

Women in Educational Administration

The women who, like Ella Flagg Young and Ruth Love, are able to overcome the barriers that society has placed in their way, and finally shatter the glass ceiling share a number of characteristics. These women are, on average older than their male counterparts and more likely to be single

(Adkison, 1985; Marshall, 1985; Porat, 1985; Weber, Feldman & Poling, 1981). They have spent more years teaching and have spent substantial parts of their career in off-line positions such as curriculum consultant (Early & Weindling, 1988; Gross & Trask, 1976; Grow Maienza, 1986). They have also spent a longer time in positions such as deputy head and have had a greater number of career interruptions than men (Avioli & Kaplan, 1992; Early & Weindling, 1988). Researchers indicate that while men often enter teaching with a clear desire or vision of becoming administrators, women enter the profession to teach, and decide to enter administration at a later stage in their careers. They, therefore, bring into administration a different perspective, a different approach (Early & Weindling, 1988; Grow Maienza, 1986; Ortiz, 1982; Prolman, 1982).

Women are seen as more involved in the community, more relationship-oriented, more concerned, caring and supportive (Fauth, 1984; Gougeon, 1992). They are considered to be highly knowledgeable and experienced curriculum leaders (Erickson, 1985; McGrath, 1992). For these women, unlike their male counterparts, power is not considered an important aspect of leadership (Statham, 1987; Woo, 1985). Instead, they feel that leadership can be accomplished without exerting power, but rather through empowering others (Porat, 1989). Considered as strong instructional leaders, the woman principal appears to express a more participatory, democratic and consultative style (Haring-Hidore, Freeman, Phelps, Spann & Wooten, 1990; Porat, 1989;

Shakeshaft, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1987). Yet, there is considerable argument over the origin of any style differences noted (Haring-Hidore et al., 1990; Carlson & Schmuck 1981; Eastman, 1990; Gross & Trask, 1976; Jago & Vroom, 1982; Ponder & Fagan, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989b). Some researchers suggest that any variations that exist in the leadership styles taken by men and women result from differences in the path taken to reach the position while others suggest that women adapt their style in order to reduce the role-norm conflict they feel (Adkison, 1981; Erickson, 1985; Fauth, 1984; Prolman, 1982).

Many researchers of women in educational administration and management have reported that the women feel intensely the conflict that exists between the role that society deems is acceptable for them to take, and the role of administrator (Jones, 1990; Nelson & Quick, 1985; Solomon et al., 1986; Weber et al., 1981). Women in educational administration struggle with societal values and expectation. Many women suffer from a role overload and conflict between expectations as a mother, wife and career person (Adkison, 1981; Erickson, 1985; Fauth, 1984; Jones, 1990; Weber et al., 1981). Women experience pressure to act in an appropriate, characteristically masculine, fashion in their jobs (Adkison, 1981; Erickson, 1985). Many women feel that they have to switch personalities, or develop an androgynous style at work. For men, support in administrative positions come from societal expectations

and from their wives and families. For women, such support from society is less forthcoming and families are less supportive (Adkison, 1985; Marshall, 1985; Porat, 1985). Married women who have careers find that coping with the requirements of job and marriage absorb most of their energy (Villadsen & Tack, 1986). Society requires career women to be model mothers and spouses, to be active in the community and to perform their jobs with success (Villadsen & Tack, 1986)

Role-norm conflict is not the only stressor on women administrators. Other difficulties that the women express is the less than enthusiastic acceptance that they encounter, the social isolation that stems from being a token representative within the upper echelons, the pressure to continuously perform outstanding work and the accompanying fear that failure will reflect not only on themselves but on all women (Nelson & Quick, 1985; Porat, 1985; Schmuck, 1975; Wentling, 1992; Wiggins & Coggin, 1986). Additionally, while women work exceedingly hard in their roles, their level of remuneration falls below that of men working in equivalent positions, their achievements are considered to be a result of luck rather than hard work (Bolman & Deal, 1992; Devanna, 1987; Frasher & Frasher, 1979; Greenhaus & Parasuramam, 1993; Haring-Hidore et al., 1990; Reynolds, 1989; Sutton & Moore, 1985; Wentling, 1992).

To counter the pressures and stigma associated with their careers,

successful women administrators have developed numerous coping strategies. On a personal level these range from making full use of nannies and housekeepers, to actively pursuing mentors and forming all female networks to provide encouragement and support. As mentioned before, one coping strategy is to learn to develop a more androgynous style at work thus reducing the incongruence of the gender role.

On a broader spectrum, researchers are recognizing the need for all educators to recognize the system as problematic and thus to enact change on a societal level. In a recent article in The Canadian School Executive, Slauenwhite and Skok (1991) presented eight strategies that women within education could enact to change societal attitudes. While mention of traditional strategies such as networking and mentoring was made, the authors also indicated that female educators needed to promote sex equity in all areas of curriculum and pedagogy (Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). In his response to their article, Thomas Gougeon (1992) adds that while unilateral initiatives by women are worthwhile, by themselves they will remain ineffective unless men learn to understand the differences in perceptions of males and females and learn to value women's voices (Gougeon, 1992). This suggests that changes to the nature of teacher training programs, as well as principal qualification courses need to be examined. Others feel that flattening the hierarchical structure of educational administration is one strategy that will lead to a greater opportunity

for advancement (Sergiovanni, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1989b). These researchers are aiming to ultimately change the societal valuation of women. Societal values and their subsequent gender role socialization have developed over centuries of time and while attempting to change them is indeed worthwhile, a shorter term means of enabling women to enter educational administration is also required.

Summary

Women have struggled to gain access to educational administration since they first became teachers. Each woman has her own story to tell, for each has followed her own path. These paths and stories are different from those taken by men and we can learn much from examining these differences. Our society can no longer afford to ignore the pool of talent that women have to offer educational administration. To do this necessitates an examination of careers not only from the traditional male perspective, but from a feminine perspective as well. Looking at the world of administration from this perspective expands our knowledge base without becoming divisive (Shakeshaft, 1989a). While efforts undoubtedly must be made to change the value placed on women's work, they must simultaneously be placed on determining the best means of enabling women to shatter the glass ceiling and take their seat in the administrator's chair.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative examination of the career paths of female and male educational administrators. Within this chapter, the rationale for the choice of qualitative research design is presented. This necessitates an examination of qualitative research as a whole, followed by an examination of the guidelines and strategies presented in the literature for the development of tools useful in the collection and analysis of qualitative data. Following this rationale, the design of the pilot study, and its subsequent conclusions are detailed. Finally an examination of the design of the current study, centring on the selection criteria, interview process and data analysis methodologies is presented.

Qualitative Research: Rationale

Previous research in the area of women in educational administration has focused on some of the barriers that women face as they enter the educational hierarchy. This research has frequently raised as many questions as it has answered. These questions are not amenable to experimental manipulation or to survey-style examination. Instead, these questions, which provided the framework for this study, require an examination of the career stories of female and male administrators. Such an examination requires a

flexibility in research design that necessitates the use of a qualitative approach to the investigation.

The underlying assumption to this study is that the ways in which people talk about their lives is important. The words and language they use carries with it a significance in regard to how they see the world around them, and how they interact with that world. Thus, it is necessary to maintain these words in their context instead of reducing their significance by attempting to quantify them. By quantifying them as frequencies, one risks losing the reality of their meaning. Kincheloe (1991) notes that it has long been the struggle of educational researchers to develop means to express aspects of the human condition, such as career stories, that are not amenable to quantification. A qualitative research methodology is suggested as a means to overcome this struggle.

The strength of qualitative research lies in the fact that through it, an investigator can examine the complexities and processes underlying not only the formal, but also the informal structure of an organization. The researcher can identify the subject's real versus purported frame of reference. As Marshall and Rossman (1989) indicate, qualitative design is essential when you are examining people, and how they define the situation in which they find themselves.

Much confusion has arisen in the past few years over the nature of

qualitative research. As Jacob (1987) explains, qualitative research is in fact a misnomer encompassing several different alternatives to traditional positivistic research. Jacob explains that the alternative to a more quantitative approach can in fact be broken down into a number of differing qualitative traditions. In the article, Jacob identifies these traditions as being associated with the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and psychology. Other researchers have similarly attempted to classify the methodologies that are grouped together as qualitative research. The abstract nature of the field, coupled with the trend of qualitative researchers to utilize several methodologies, has led some to believe that a true definition of qualitative research is difficult to ascertain (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Of all the qualitative approaches discussed, that which appears most relevant to the current study is the ethnography approach.

Ethnographers seek to describe the beliefs and practices of a particular group so that they may understand the culture to which that group belongs. For an ethnographer, culture implies all that humans learn. It is also a term that refers to the behaviour of an individual or individuals within a society. Culture is the underlying "patterns for" and "patterns of" behaviour that are important for ethnographers to explore. Patterns *of* behaviour are observable phenomena, while the patterns *for* behaviour are the underlying mentalistic framework for behaviour (Jacob, 1987). In order to interpret behaviour appropriately, it is important for an ethnographer to fully understand the

participant's point of view in the appropriate context.

The primary interest of this form of research is to analyze or describe the behaviour of key individuals within a group. It is understood that while culture has a powerful role in determining the behaviour of an individual, each individual is still subject to unique influences and experiences that can significantly affect his or her behaviour. Thus, the ethnographer, in examining some individuals, reaches an understanding of the common threads that play a role in a group's behaviour. The goal is to explore and learn about the culture in order to understand people's views of their world in a better fashion. The ethnographer seeks to understand an individual's thoughts, feeling, beliefs and actions so that patterns may be articulated and new theories developed (Jacob, 1987).

To gain an understanding from a particular individual's viewpoint requires a recounting of his or her narrative or story. As the researcher can not predict in advance how this story may unfold, the trend for ethnographers is to take an emergent design to their research (McMillan & Schumacher, 1989). This implies that the data collection strategy is developed as the study progresses. A single methodology either for data collection or for data analysis can not be developed *a priori*. Instead, numerous methodological practices are presented in the literature as guidelines that can be adapted to meet the researcher's requirements. Of the strategies suggested, those for data collection

most often employed by ethnographers are informal interviewing and participant observation. For the current study an interview process was utilized and thus the significant guidelines for developing such a research tool are presented.

Interviews with selected individuals can take a number of differing forms. In an informal conversation interview there is no predetermined order to the questions asked. A conversation is initiated and the normal trends of the conversation are followed. In this form, the participant can quite frequently be unaware that an interview is truly taking place. In the guided interview, the topics to be explored are determined in advance by the interviewer but are not followed in any particular order for each interview. Instead the interviewer listens to cues from the participant and reacts by posing questions in different orders as deemed appropriate. This ensures that while all topics are covered, there remains some flexibility and spontaneity in the interview. Finally the standard open-ended interview has the interviewer ask predetermined questions in a predetermined order, similar to completing an oral questionnaire. While this form removes an interviewer's bias to the data collection it creates a more artificial situation than the previous methods (Hoy & Miskel, 1987; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; McMillan & Schumacher, 1989).

A final form of data collection that is often categorized as an interview is the career and life history interview which is employed to develop a

narrative of an individual's story. This method is often combined with other interview methods (Hoy & Miskel, 1987; McMillan & Schumacher, 1989).

The career history method has been utilized successfully to examine the differences in career patterns between small, minority groups within a larger culture (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). While some would argue that this development of a microethnography does not create a broad enough picture of the culture under study, it has been found that this technique is useful in developing an understanding of how individuals develop in relation to the culture as a whole (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

Once the format for the interview has been determined, the next step is to develop the questions themselves. Several researchers have developed typologies of questions designed to elicit differing data. The choice of typology needs to be matched to the purposes of the study and the format of the interview. For the current study, Patton's summary of data types, as cited in LeCompte & Preissle (1993), is the most appropriate. Patton's kinds of questions include those that ask: (a) what respondents do or have done, (b) how respondents think about their behaviour, (c) how respondents feel about their experiences, (d) what respondents know about their worlds, (e) what they sense about their experiences, and (f) their descriptions of themselves, determined through background and demographic questions. Once it is determined what types of responses are to be elicited, the researcher then

develops a script for, and order to the questions to be posed. Most researchers believe demographic questions should be placed first, in order to ease the respondent into the interview process. Then, questions should be ordered to place the most complex questions in the middle or later portions of the interview where they will be asked when a greater rapport is established between the interviewer and the respondent (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; McMillan & Schumacher, 1989). Pilot administration of the questions has been found to be useful in order to practice and test out the direction and format of the interview (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; McMillan & Schumacher, 1989).

Once data are collected, a key question concerning qualitative studies is how such data can be analyzed effectively. Some proponents of quantitative research argue that it is this aspect of the qualitative research methodology that is its weakest point. In contrast, proponents of qualitative research argue that, when done properly, this area is the basis for the true strength of qualitative methodology. According to the critics, the sheer volume of data collected prohibits the use of a large sample, thus reducing the generalizability of qualitative research. Yet while it is understood that, as Miles and Huberman (1984) state, "words are slippery, ambiguous symbols" whose interpretation have few guidelines for protection against bias - it is also clear that in coding and attempting to standardize words from a narrative, an objective scientist may indeed impose her own standards on the words, destroying their true

meaning, (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1984). Thus, while data analysis for qualitative research is perhaps more complex than that for quantitative research, it does not negate the reliability of data but in fact enables data to become all the more powerful. Done well, qualitative research can breathe life into the static picture painted by quantitative research.

During qualitative data collection, the researcher generally relies on transcripts of conversations, tape recordings, and extensive field notes. The first step in accurate data analysis is to reduce the copious amounts of information that have been obtained into a more easily interpretable form. This is a process known as data reduction. In this process, the researcher selects and focuses the information. This is often an ongoing process involving identification of common threads or themes and the determination of clusters of information collected from a number of sources. While coding is used to gather this information together, the original words are not obliterated. Instead of being quantified, the data are paraphrased and summarized. In this fashion the data remain part of the context in which they were collected. The data are sorted and organized into related categories and then an examination is made for the existence of emerging patterns. It is important at this stage to refer frequently to the original questions of the study as these provide a guideline or framework for further analysis (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

The next stage of data analysis is that of data display. While in the past this has entailed the presentation of lengthy narrative texts, many feel that this is an awkward and overwhelming display of information. Miles and Huberman (1984) among others, advocate the creation of more succinct data displays that highlight aspects of information without removing this information from the context. A well constructed display will lead clearly into the development of logical conclusions and the clear understanding of common themes.

Qualitative research, if well thought out and appropriately analyzed, can provide reliable information that can be adequately generalized to a larger group. The nature of the research implies that it is an examination of real life situations and it is understood that the real world changes. A more experimental approach, which alters the real world, thus imposing a status of artificiality, is by its nature more easily replicated than a qualitative study, which examines the very nature of the changes themselves. Qualitative research, however, can provide valid reliable information. To improve reliability, researchers often choose to employ a multiple case examination. The greater the number of different situations that can be examined, the greater the generalizability of the findings. This is an approach often referred to as triangulation, and it involves not only increasing the number of individuals examined but also utilizing a number of different data collection and data analysis techniques.

Marshall & Rossman (1989) suggest that the use of a pilot study to refine the approach used will serve to increase the reliability of the findings of the research. In the present research a pilot study was conducted. Through the pilot study the selection criteria and interview process were refined. As well, a questionnaire guideline was developed based on the initial interviews and a proposed questionnaire guideline. During the pilot study the interview process developed from an open-ended approach to a guided interview focusing on career and educational history. The methodology for the pilot study is presented next, followed by a summary of the findings obtained.

Pilot Study

For this study, a qualitative approach to research was undertaken following the traditions of educational ethnography. The methodological design led to an understanding of the career life narratives of female and male administrators. The tentative nature of what was found within these life stories implied that the design of the research was left open enough to allow for a continual refinement and revision of the questions posed. Accordingly, the research became exploratory in nature. In order to clarify the potential approaches to be taken, this pilot study was performed. Through this, the initial development and refinement of the methodology was initiated. As well, a refinement of the sample selection was undertaken.

In the pilot study, the sample consisted of three males and four females.

All subjects possessed a minimum of the Principals' Part One qualification papers. All participants were from one school, chosen by the researcher for geographical convenience. The participants agreed in advance to be part of an informal, initial investigation to examine differences between males and females who in the last ten years had been hired as vice principals or who aspired to such a position. The seven participants were the only individuals at the school that met the requirements of eligibility. Of these subjects, the three males were all vice principals. One of the females had been a vice principal, but at the time of the interview, had recently been promoted to a position as Acting Principal. The remaining three females had completed the Principal's Part One qualifications but were not yet in administrative positions.

The specific questions under study for this pilot study were the following: How are the career paths of women and men different? Do women receive support in their decision to enter into the educational hierarchy? Are women encouraged through acceptance into mentoring or networking situations?

The original participants were interviewed through an open-ended interview process, combined with some initial demographic questions. As the interviews progressed, it was found that a more structured interview process would prove beneficial to eliciting the information required. Thus a guided interview format was developed and a more specific question structure was

designed. For all participants, a career history was elicited. Specific questions were asked concerning demographic information regarding age, marital status, educational background and qualifications. Following this, the participants were encouraged to describe their careers as they perceived them. The only other specific questions that were asked were with regard to the perceived effect of mentors and networks on their careers and the motivation they had to pursue a career in administration. In some instances these questions were not directly posed, as the participants had, in their description of their careers, indirectly answered them. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and took place in either the participant's office or home.

Summary of Findings of the Pilot Study

The following is a presentation of the findings of the seven individuals interviewed during the pilot study. None of the interviews was taped, instead, copious notes were taken throughout the interview. Upon the end of an interview, further memos were made of the interview process. A summary table of some of the information was created to observe trends and similarities (see Table 1). As well, a descriptive narrative was developed for each participant based on their own words. From the summary table and the descriptive narratives, commonalities and differences both within and between the two gender groups were developed. Emerging patterns were then noted and related to the original questions and theories which formed the framework of

the pilot study. The table and narratives are presented next. The conclusions of the pilot study are presented following the data presentation. The names of the participants have been changed.

Table 1**Summary of the Findings of the Pilot Study**

Subject	Marital Status	Position ^a	Mentor	Committee Work	Family Support	Other
Sarah	n/a	Head for 9 yrs, 10 yrs ago	no	yes	family of friends are supportive	felt uninvited
Jane	yes, 3 children	Assistant Head	no	yes	no obstruction	wants to push on but if cost is too high for family will back out
Rachel	n/a	V.P. for 3 yrs; now Acting Principal	yes, several	yes	family of friends are supportive	is willing to stay
Thomas	yes, 3 children	V.P. for 6 yrs	yes	yes	very strong	n/a
Peter	yes, 4 children	V.P. less than 1 year	yes	some	very strong	knows he will get something
Joseph	yes, 1 child	V.P. less than 1 year	yes, definite	yes	very strong	wants to move on
Charlotte	yes, 3 children	Head	no, although has had some support	yes, yet often not listened to	yes, yet some professional jealousy from husband	knows that she is seen negatively as a climber

^a V.P. = vice principal

Sarah

Sarah is in her early fifties. She is no longer considering a career in administration. Her decision to take the initial steps towards becoming an administrator occurred after several years as a Department Head. She was motivated to enter administration to realize dreams of a school that fully supported all of its students. Sarah has been an active member of the local community and of the school and is a participant on several board-wide, provincial and national committees. Dedicated and loyal, Sarah stopped pushing for administration as she "just never felt invited" and it wasn't in her personality to "intrude". When she took Part I of the principal's qualifications, six years ago, she felt she had "no affirmation, no support and no mentor". Upon reexamining her feelings she felt she did not want to "spend her life fighting". Sarah also referred to the fact that the role models she saw in administration were not the kind of leader she wanted to be. She often referred to her dreams for change and how she felt that while she is competent and already has several of the responsibilities normally assigned to more senior administrators, she felt that her dreams no longer fit the role of administration as described by the predominantly male school board for which she works. As the board undergoes changes in leadership, bringing with them some changes in style and approach, Sarah feels that there is no longer a point in struggling to gain access to positions in administration because of her age. Unmarried,

Sarah credits a few key people of her "family" of friends with encouraging her to take on outside interests.

Jane

Jane is in her early forties. An assistant head, she has her Part I and is just currently completing her Part II to be fully qualified for the vice principalship. Jane has experienced considerable frustration in her struggle to gain access to administration. Most recently, the board informed her that she can not get access to the vice principal pool for the fall as she does not now have the qualifications, regardless of the fact that she will have the qualifications by the fall. Her family, while not actively obstructing her, provide minimal support. She says that her husband now "sets the table", but her daughter wishes she could spend more time at home. One of her sons does provide her with some moral support. Jane says that if she ever felt that her family was hurt by her involvement in administration, she would stop. The staff at school provide little support, and she credits a small group of female friends with helping her to keep struggling. Jane has recently joined several board-wide committees to increase her exposure at the board level but she feels omitted from informal networks of power and has no mentor. Her motivation to enter administration reflects her desire to improve the quality of education for all students, especially those currently not experiencing success.

Rachel

Rachel is in her early thirties, yet has been working for twelve years, ten in education. A vice principal for three years, she has recently been promoted to be acting principal. Rachel clearly credits her advancement to a series of male mentors, teachers, principals, and professors, who encouraged her continuously and pointed out possible directions for her. Rachel was motivated to enter administration in order to be as actively involved in education as possible. She had always been involved in coaching and athletics and her role models were her father and her elementary vice principal and principal. Rachel did comment that such an active involvement meant little time for her personal life but she remains committed to the needs of the students. Throughout her years as a teacher, she has been actively involved in board-wide committees that brought her to the attention of the influential decision makers. Thus she has a network of contacts on which to rely. While much of her achievement can be credited to her enormous drive, and her work ethic, she also has the advantage of numerous individuals pushing for her. Unmarried, she credits both her parents with encouraging her in all her decisions. A newcomer to the school, she recalls that a few staff have consistently supported her but by far the majority continue to test her.

Thomas

Thomas is in his early fifties and has been a vice principal for a total of six years over the space of the last ten years. For some of this time, he had worked in Europe where, he admits, the role of vice principal is different from that here in Canada. He had been a vice principal in Canada for the last five years. Thomas credits the encouragement and support of a past principal, whom he cites as a mentor, with encouraging him to pursue administration. He had felt ready to perform administrative duties within the first few years of teaching but had perceived a lack of opportunity for advancement. As a result of this perceived "stagnation" he had moved to Germany, where he convinced the Director to appoint him as vice principal. The decision to move affected his wife and family but he states that they have always been highly supportive of him. In the interview, Thomas made no mention of a perceived need on his behalf to be deeply involved in committee work to enhance his visibility. When asked about his motivation to enter administration, Thomas talked about the encouragement he received from a past principal to apply for the training courses and his own feeling that he could operate a school.

Peter

Peter is in his early forties. A teacher for 17 years, he has been a vice principal for less than one year. Prior to this he was a department head for a total of five years. He admits that the decision to enter administration came

only within the last seven years, upon the encouragement of a past principal. He also admits that he had always taken courses but with no particular agenda for advancement in mind as he knew "his time would come". His wife has been fully supportive of his career decisions. She showed a willingness to move so that Peter could get into a board that had vice principal positions available. As a result of his time involvement in his new positions, he recognizes that she has taken on much of the task of raising their four children while continuing to work as a teacher. Peter is confident that he will move on to a principal's position soon and made no mention of the need for involvement in committees to succeed. His apparent motivation to enter administration remains slightly unclear although he made reference to the need for personal change.

Joseph

Joseph is in his early thirties and has been a vice principal for one month. In the past five years, Joseph has held a number of positions of responsibility from head of department to head of a regional career centre. Joseph clearly credits several men for being his mentors throughout these positions. His past principal actively encouraged him to be involved in several aspects of administration on an informal basis and he credits this for providing him with an advance socialization into the role of administrator. Joseph entered teaching with a clear knowledge that administration would be

something he would be good at. He expressed a desire to affect as many students as possible and to create an atmosphere where the student is accountable. He expressed regret that too much time is centred on the small number of students who are troublemakers. Since arriving at his current board, the superintendent of personnel has encouraged him and recommended him for several significant positions. Joseph also credits his wife with providing support, for his time commitment away from home, and for moving to this area.

Charlotte

Charlotte was interviewed at a later stage than the others. During the interviews of the others, the questioning was open-ended. For Charlotte, a guided interview was held to expedite data collection and to test an outline for the final interview form. The original questions were made more specific and a form was created to be completed by the researcher (see Appendix A).

Charlotte is in her mid-forties and a mother of three children. She has had numerous positions outside the field of education, the longest for sixteen years. Hired on a short-term contract to teach, Charlotte eventually gained a full-time position and then took her qualifications to become a teacher. Thus while she has taught for fourteen years, she has held her Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) for only eight. Her motivation to enter educational administration results from her perception of a lack of support for those students who are not

academically oriented. She feels very strongly that efforts towards developing the area of technology need to be improved so that the dropout rate can be reduced. She understands that in order for her to effect substantial change in the field she needs to have clout and this can only be obtained through persisting along an administrative route. Thus far, she has received some support from colleagues, primarily professors of the qualifications courses she has taken. This support has frequently come at times when she felt that there was no point in proceeding. She is aware that the staff of her school view her negatively as a climber and that she does not always receive the support in public that they offer her in private. Her husband supported her at first and then suffered for a while from professional jealousy as he is also a prospective administrator. Having come to terms with that aspect, she indicates that he now resents the time she spends away from home. While she makes no mention of mentors, or of involvement in networks she does indicate that she has worked hard to be accepted in certain key committees.

Conclusions of the Pilot Study

The Pilot Study was an examination of seven participants. It was found that, whereas there is no theme common to all participants, there seem to be themes common to each of the gender cohorts.

Of the four female administrators, three were consistent in their description of their climb as a struggle, with little support. While the fourth

participant, Rachel, has had more support by a select few individuals, whom she calls mentors, she has still experienced a struggle for acceptance now that she is on the job. Sarah felt the struggle was so great that she stopped fighting and stepped off the path to administration, choosing instead to pursue other interests. Jane admits that she may step off the path, if her family is hurt by her career choices. Charlotte appears increasingly motivated by the challenge. For these women, the path to the administrator's chair has not been easy. Although Rachel has had numerous mentors approach her, the other three women were not as fortunate; indeed all have had to seek out support groups.

In contrast, the three men interviewed had greater support throughout their career paths. All three have had mentors approach them and have had support from family and colleagues. All have been encouraged to enter administration, and all discussed how principals provided them with opportunities to improve their skills, enabling them to undergo anticipatory socialization through participation in quasi-administrative roles. Therefore, in the area of mentors and support networks there appears to be some gender-related differences.

Another area where differences are apparent is in motivation. While the women all clearly indicated that their motivation to enter administration was to enact change, to make school a better place for those students who were struggling, the male participants had a more difficult time expressing their

motivational influences. Indeed, of the three, only Joseph mentioned the students at all and then only the fact that too much time is spent on "10% of the population" who are the troublemakers. It is this 10% that Jane, Sarah and Charlotte in particular are interested in assisting. Thus it is possible that these individuals have entered educational administration for highly different reasons. For Peter, Thomas and Joseph, educational administration appears to have been an obvious path to take. A path they were ready to follow. For Sarah, the path was never obvious nor inviting or attractive. For Jane and Charlotte, who are taking their first steps, the path remains an uphill struggle. Of all the women, Rachel has progressed the furthest, perhaps because she has had the greatest support from the system itself.

This pilot study inevitably raised more questions than it answered. While it appears that mentors are an important aspect in alleviating the struggle in climbing the educational hierarchy, it is unclear from the pilot study if the acquisition of mentors is related to the gender of the individual or to other factors. Networks of information and support appear as important influences in the career paths of the individuals in this study, but for the majority of women, acceptance into these networks resulted from a personal drive and determination. The male administrators interviewed appeared to be more readily and easily accepted into these informal relationships. It remains to be seen whether this apparent phenomenon is gender-determined or determined by

some other factor or factors beyond the scope of this study. A more in-depth examination of the motivations behind entering administration could prove informative and thus more directed questions on this issue were incorporated into the current study.

Due to the sample size in the pilot study, adequate generalizations cannot be made, however some commonalities were found which aided in the development of questioning for the current study. As well, the extremely short career path of the participants did not allow enough of a career history to be developed. For example, since the pilot study, Rachel has spent one and a half years as an acting principal. She was admitted to the principal's pool as the first of three candidates. Yet, when the board placed two new principals recently she did not receive a placement. Instead, she was forced to give up her acting principal position and return to being a vice principal. In this position she spent one semester before leaving her board and moving to a new community to finally gain a principalship. Selecting participants who are higher up the administrative hierarchy will enable a longer career history to be examined which in turn will create a more cohesive pattern.

Primarily, the pilot study aided in the development of the current study approach. As indicated above, one of the outcomes of the pilot, was that a reassessment of the study sample was performed. Whereas originally, the sample was to consist of vice principals and principals, the pilot study indicated

that individuals higher in the hierarchy would be more appropriate. As well, the interview technique itself was refined through the pilot process. The results of the pilot study helped in the development of the final guided interview outline. The questions to be asked became more clearly developed through the interview process of the pilot. One of the initial areas not examined in the pilot, was the area of power. This was included for the current study as it was felt that issues revolving around power, both attainment and utilization were developed in the course of the pilot study. Thus, this area was added to the questioning of the current study.

Current Study

In the current study the sample consisted of five male and five female administrators. In order to select the participants, a listing of all English language male and female superintendents currently employed in the six boards of the Niagara and Hamilton regions was generated with the aid of the Handbook of the Canadian Education Association (CEA, 1994). This list was divided into two gender groups, one consisting of 33 males and the other of 9 females. Within each of these two groups the names were randomized and a letter requesting an interview was sent to the first five in each list (see Appendix B). Subsequent to the letter, a phone call to the potential participant was made to arrange an interview date. Of the five original selections in each group, two males and two females withdrew their names and consequently the

next two names on both the male and female randomized list were selected. Four new letters were distributed. Thus in total, seven letters were sent to male superintendents and seven to female superintendents in order to obtain five participants in each group.

Interviews

The interviews took place in the office of the participant and lasted from one to two hours. Five of the ten participants agreed to have their interviews tape recorded. The interviews began with a short explanation of the work involved, followed by the signing of the consent form (Appendix C). All ten interviews were conducted using the interview guideline (Appendix D) developed from the research methodology and refined through the pilot study.

Initial questions were asked concerning the demographic background of the participant. Participants were then guided through an examination of their educational background, and their career history. Following this, questions were asked concerning additional influences on their careers. For this section a guided interview format was utilized.

During the interviews, the responses of the participants were recorded as point form notes. Immediately upon leaving the interview, memos regarding overall impressions were made on each interview. Where tape recordings were made, transcripts were created.

Data Analysis

The data collected from each interview were consolidated into the tables provided in Chapter Four. The personal information was compiled onto a summary table. The data collected from responses to questions on educational background were consolidated into one table. A chronological career history was developed from the responses to the questions on career backgrounds. From this, a summary table of years in position was created. The responses to each of the questions from the additional career influences section were noted in tabular format. In order to compare the data, a final summation table comparing the two gender groups was created. This table summarized each of the sections from the interview.

During the data analysis stage of the research, the information collected from each segment of the interview was compared to the original questions asked in the study as presented in Chapter One. This was done to focus the study and to determine where, within the interview, the answers to these original questions were elicited. Taking the original questions one set at a time, the data of all the respondents were analyzed for commonalities and emergent patterns. Information collected from the two gender groups was compared and contrasted. Common themes were developed and examined. Finally, comparisons were made between the data collected through the

interview process and the information presented within the literature as developed in Chapter Two. From these comparisons, conclusions were drawn. The findings of the current study are presented in Chapter Four. The analysis and subsequent conclusion are presented in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

In this chapter the findings of the current study are presented. The order of presentation of the data reflects the order of questioning during the interview process. This order can be seen in the question guideline provided in Appendix D. All of the participants are given a coded name to protect their identity. The first letter describes their gender, the second the number assigned to them.

The selection process included all English language superintendents. No prior selection was done to distinguish the type of position held, or the qualifications for position. As a professional engineer who held a position as Superintendent of Plant, the second male participant met the initial criteria for selection, however, his position had necessitated that he follow a nonacademic career path. Having never been a teacher, the majority of questions were not relevant to his situation. As such, the data from his interview are omitted from both the summation and the analysis.

Personal Background

The initial series of questions dealt with personal background. This provides a demographic framework of the participants. The information from this first series of questions is summarized in Table 2. It should be noted that

not all participants answered each of the questions in the same fashion. For example, while all of the men provided their exact age, three of the women provided an age bracket. The approximate ages listed for these women is calculated from other hints they provided. As an example, one respondent who gave her age bracket would later describe the age she began teaching and the number of years she had been working. From these such hints, an approximate age was calculated. Also, not all of the participants provided the ages of their children. Many simply indicated that their children were currently living independently. For M1 and M3 the children who remain at home are attending postsecondary institutions in their hometown or vicinity.

Table 2**Summary of Demographic Information**

Subject	Marital Status ^a	Years Married	Occupation of Spouse	Age	No. of child.	Age of child.	Home Support
F1	M	38	retired engineer	>50 approx 55	2	now independent	had a cleaner when the children were young
F2	n/a	n/a	n/a	50s approx 52	n/a	n/a	has a cleaner and lives in a condo
F3	M	10	teacher	47	2	9,8	had a live in nanny - now has a nanny who spends afternoons, cooks, cleans
F4	D	6	spouse worked	40's approx 48	n/a	n/a	currently lives in a condo
F5	n/a	n/a	n/a	49	n/a	n/a	lives in a condo with her aunt who cleans
M1	M	30	works at home	52	3	2 are still at home one is married	no
M3	M	29	owner of a physiotherapy clinic - works full time now - part time when children were young	52	4	3 are now independent - 1 remains at home	no
M4	M	29	psychometrist	50	2	ages 24, 22 both are now independent	has a cleaner
M5	M	27	elementary teacher	53	3	27,25 21, all are now independent	had day care and a cleaner

Note. n/a = not applicable; child. = children

^a M = married; D = divorced

Educational Background

Table 3 summarizes the information provided from the educational background series of questions. In some instances, the participant was unable to remember the exact year a degree was completed but instead provided either a range or a choice of years. These are all presented. In addition, it should be mentioned that in the early 1970s an individual required only one course to be qualified as a principal. The qualifications program was rearranged in the late 1970s to consist of two courses called Part I and Part II. Thus for some participants, only one date is given for their principal's certification while for others the two dates are provided.

Table 3**Summary of Educational Background**

Subject	Bachelor's Degree	Date	Master's Degree ^a	Date	Principal's Certification	Supervisory Officer Papers	Other Qualifications
F1	B.A.	1970 - completed part time after teaching started	Ed. Admin	1973	no mention made of this	1981	special ed specialist; phys ed part 1; library and guidance
F2	B.A. (Chemistry)	1964			1982	1992	computer courses and religion courses
F3	B.A. (English)	1969	Special Ed.	1985	late 70's early 80's	1991	specialist phys ed; special ed part 1 and 2; religion part 1
F4	B.A. (Psychology and English)	1967 - begun part time then took two years off teaching to complete degree	Ed. Admin	1975	1978 (part I) and 1980 (part II)	1980	special education specialist; doctorate in progress - expected completion 1996
F5	B.A. (English and French)	1968 - completed part time after teaching started	Ed. Admin	1975	1976	1986	specialist in primary and in religion; also language arts; guidance and media studies courses

table continues...

Subject	Bachelor's Degree	Date	Master's Degree ^a	Date	Principal's Certification	Supervisory Officer Papers	Other Qualifications
M1	B.A. (Honours Geography)	1963	Ed. Planning	1975	1975; 1978	1986	guidance part 1 and history part 1
M3	B.A. (French and History)	1964 with make up year 1965	1. History 2. Education	1. 1969 (completed part time) 2. 1979	1973; 1974	1978	specialist in history prior to 1969
M4	B.A. (Honours History)	1966	1. History 2. Curriculum & Admin	1. 1969 2. 1976 or 1977	1977; 1979	1983 or 1984	specialist in history due to honours degree; special education part 1 to 3
M5	B.A. (History and Political Science)	1969 - completed part time after teaching started	Ed. Admin	1973 or 1974	1969	1975	religion part 1

^a Ed. Admin. = Educational Administration; Special Ed. = Special Education; Ed. Planning = Educational Planning

Career History

Next, the participants were asked to summarize their careers. Each participant chose to do this in his or her own fashion. Some provided actual dates for each job change, others provided the number of years they held certain positions. Some provided their histories in chronological order, while others jumped around their histories. Many provided anecdotal accounts during their descriptions. Individual summaries of the chronological order of each participant's career were developed from their stories. From these summaries, a final summation of the number of years that each position was held was created. The individual summaries are presented in Appendix E. The tabular summary is presented in Table 4. It should be noted that the age of each participant was also included in this table for comparative purposes.

Table 4

Summary of Years as Teacher and as an Administrator

Subject	Age	Career	Teaching	H e a d	V P	Principa l	Board ^a	Assist Super	Super	Time to Super	Other
F1	>50 approx 55	31(over 37 yrs, 6 yrs out for childcare)	19		5	1		4	7	24 (over 30 years)	
F2	50's approx 52	30	9		4	11			3	27	3 as admin in comm- unity
F3	47	24 (8 months off childcare)	3	8	6	4			3	21	
F4	48	28 (over 30 but 2 yrs off for school)	12 (split 10 yrs then 4 yrs at board then 2 back in class)		0	2	3 as consult; 1 as program; then 3 as coordinator		7	21 (over 23 years)	2 yrs ministry of edu- cation work
F5	49	31	5		3	5	8 as coordinator; 4 in staff development	3	3	28	
M1	52	29	2	9	3	7		3	6	23	
M3	52	29	1	4	0	11	4 as curriculum consult		9	20	
M4	50	26	9	1	6	4			6	20	
M5	53	31	5		0	9			17	14	

Note. All averages for females are for the five females, regardless of number holding that position. Likewise for the males, all averages are for four males. Note. admin = administration; consult = consultant

^a Board positions involve those positions other than superintendent or assistant superintendent that were at the board office as opposed to in connection with a particular school. In most cases these positions occurred between the principalship and the superintendency - exceptions are F4 who was a consultant and program coordinator for a total of 4 years before spending 2 years back in the classroom, then 2 years at the ministry, then 3 years at board level as coordinator before becoming a principal. Also M3 was a consultant for 4 years before becoming a principal.

From the data in Table 4, averages were calculated for each group. These are presented in Table 5. For the females, all averages are for five participants, while for the males all averages are derived from the four academic superintendents. For both males and females the average time spent teaching includes time spent as a head as this is still mainly teaching time. It does not include time spent as a vice principal as only one female (F5) indicated she continued part-time teaching during her vice principalship. The board positions include all positions where the participant worked at the board office. The time that F4 worked with the ministry is included in the average for board office time. For F2, the other positions mentioned were administrative-type responsibilities that she took on while continuing to teach. Thus these three years are included in the total teaching time which accounts for her part-time load.

The time to superintendency is a calculation based on total career time and time spent as a superintendent. For the females, the total career time has two values - the actual number of years on the job and the number of chronological years this included when time off for childrearing or education were taken into account. Thus, the years to superintendency are given in absolute and then in chronological terms.

Table 5**Average Time Spent in Career Positions**

Group	Age	Career	Teaching	H e a d	V. P.	Principal	Board	Assist Super	Super	Time to Super
Females	50.2	28.8 (over 30.4 years)	11.2 (includes headship years)	-	3. 6	4.6	4.2 (includes work at ministry)	1.4	4.6	24.2 (over 25.8 years)
Males	51.8	28.8	7.8 (includes headship years)	-	4. 5	7.8	1	.75	9.5	19.2

In presenting the data for the questions from the section on the questionnaire entitled Additional Career Influences, each question is handled separately. In several instances part of the responses were developed from the anecdotal descriptions of the career history that the participant provided earlier in the interview. In these instances, the question was repeated for confirmation purposes. The anecdotes themselves are omitted.

Motivation

Tables 6 and 7 summarize the responses to the question: What motivated you to become first a teacher and then an administrator? For each participant, the key descriptions the participant used in responding to the question are included.

Table 6

Motivational Factors for Becoming a Teacher

Subject	Motivations mentioned for becoming a teacher
F1	- once finished grade 13 there were two options available - nurse or teacher - fainted at blood- loved teacher's college - taught Sunday school - loved teaching
F2	- loved school - went to boarding school where had been involved in teaching - thought that teaching was good
F3	- involvement in athletics - went to university without a clue as to what career was going to be - but got involved with being leader, involved in recreation programs - the type of fun thing she would like - thought being a phys ed teacher would be a great fun way of working with kids
F4	- graduated from grade 13 at age 16 - had enough of school - chose not to go to university - was not the thing in my family to go straight out to work - it was acceptable to go into teacher training - she'd always wanted to be a teacher never swayed from wanting to work with kids - be a teacher of something - because of age went into teacher's college - started at elementary panel - chose double major because not sure what field she really wanted to take - English allowed me to be specialist - Psychology has been very helpful - first teacher was role model - choice of nurse or teacher - had always been involved in 4H clubs, Sunday school
F5	-always wanted to be a teacher - mother was a teacher and helped her - found mother was very fulfilled person - other possibility was dance teacher - very successful in school and in teacher's college - still love going into schools - very interested in children who are 12 years old - dealing with puberty - originally wanted grade 6 got grade 2 - found students couldn't read - ended up taking on leadership roles to organize things to help these kids

table continues ...

Subject	Motivations mentioned for becoming a teacher
M1	<p>- feedback received while working as a teaching assistant at university while working on M.A. in geography- had fully planned to be an urban planner - encouraged to be a teacher - had received graduate fellowship in 1963 - otherwise wouldn't be a teacher today</p>
M3	<p>- hired straight from university - original plan was to be a lawyer - in third or fourth year represented university on world university seminar to another country - travelled with other law students, wasn't comfortable with the way they arrived at conclusions - began to see another aspect of life and so much that could be done by working with people as opposed to working with books and laws - explored possibilities in business world - change in perspective - took aptitude tests and teaching was returned frequently as a possibility - then old alma mater was looking for someone and they liked to hire someone that they knew - was offered grant for M.A. in history - passed up this \$1500 grant - took teaching job instead - unsure re decision until Christmas of first year - involved in coaching, evening teaching and realized he could get a masters on a part time basis from university</p>
M4	<p>- clear image of being a lawyer - abandoned this but don't know why - something of idealist (although he felt that this wasn't the right word) - wanted a position with social worth - loved school but wasn't research oriented - made decision in second year of university</p>
M5	<p>-convenience and circumstance - wanted to be a dentist but had no money for university - priest who visited school encouraged graduating boys to enter teaching profession - originally saw this as a way to gain money so that could finance university - ended up really enjoying the teaching experience - within a year abandoned concepts of dentistry - realized could stay in this - then thought to self - "if I'm going to stay in this - what is my career path?"</p>

Table 7**Motivational Factors for Becoming an Administrator**

Subject	Motivations mentioned for becoming an administrator
F1	<p>-encouraged to become a vice principal - never occurred to her otherwise than to get involved - found herself organizing things in her school (elementary)- principal there was ineffective - school should be fun - no vision of career - applied to position as academic assistant to avoid a possible layoff situation at the board - took a while to become a V.P. was deemed to be "too nice" - was told she didn't have the "boss" image - judged unsuitable because was too well liked - should be hard nosed - she didn't want this image - became discouraged - approach to leadership is that you have to get people to do something because they want to not through force - refused to change her image - however - became involved in federation - developed reputation as a tougher person - then the superintendent encouraged her to reapply - superintendents were looking for women who were men - using masculine style</p>
F2	<p>- began with little sense of confidence but was supported, encouraged to take on the role - until last three years has always been in an all girls environment that has been very supportive - makes mention of WEO (Women in Educational Administration in Ontario)</p>
F3	<p>- the headship came about by being asked by the principal to take on the role having already been doing the work for quite some time - got involved heavily in special education programs and initiatives - as a result came into an organizational role with summer school - was able to use the experience to test out techniques, acquire supplies for special needs children - active involvement and then asked to take on, officially the role of principal of summer school - before qualifications obtained - once got into the courses looked at education and what you could do for students from a different perspective - after course and with support of female peers - found confidence to do V.P. position - then intimidated by principal position - eventually grew to understand that she could do that too - once again mentions doing much of the work before actually getting the position - involved in WEO support and encouragement - took S.O. position as way to improve quality of life for family (by moving to smaller community)</p>

table continues ...

Subject	Motivations mentioned for becoming an administrator
F4	<p>- very interested in special needs children - worked as consultant assisting in the implementation of programs at the secondary level - then as coordinator for the board began working closely with principals - decided she wanted to become a school administrator - was selected to take principal's part I - during work with the ministry regional office - found that she was working with superintendents, trustees, travels - end of secondment decided not to return to teaching but to search out a V.P position - pored through Globe and Mail looking for first position that seemed to fit - got a position as coordinator of program curriculum and special education with emphasis on implementation (right up my alley) - found contact with principals again exciting - actively looked in elementary panel - ended up as first person (in the board) to get a principalship without getting vice principal position - had the skills for the job - two years later - had opportunity to grab the brass ring when position became available - have never moved for professional reasons but combo of professional opportunity and personal growth - value of family</p>
F5	<p>- relate well to people - found success in classroom, encouragement - born to teach - but the men were getting appointments - thought why not me too - applied for V.P. - very bold re: what she wanted to get but got it - assertive - although hadn't considered self to be that - involved in workshops - once started still teach workshops - found it was a way to make a contribution at a broader level - principalship was an ideal situation - open concept classroom - nobody wanted it - in school as principal contributed all that she could as a principal to the community - felt that her influence was strong and good - wanted to broaden horizon - influence curriculum on a system wide level - so much is happening - round out personal growth</p>
M1	<p>- as head - went through the ranks of the federation - recognized for leadership - enjoyed leadership - encouraged - never did it to get out of the classroom - felt a contribution was to be made</p>
M3	<p>- to try something else - to have another challenge - get into situations where people would ask you to take things on - was in the right place at the right time - a principal had confidence in him - having known him for years</p>
M4	<p>-originally decision was to keep out of administration and to be a curriculum consultant - based on pragmatism that viewpoint changed - consultancy positions not available in 70's - part practical and part is he likes to make decisions - gaining of confidence - good at it - feeling that he could do as well or better than others - enjoyed wrestling with the big picture - in long term would need that or not be satisfied - mentioned frustration at length of time to become V.P. (9 years) - wouldn't have lasted much longer as a teacher if hadn't received headship finally when he did - there was no one left he could lose graciously to - needed headship as stepping stone</p>

table continues ...

Subject	Motivations mentioned for becoming an administrator
M5	<p>-asked self - "if I'm going to stay in teaching what is my career path?" - admin was the thing to do - got first principalship because he was a " male who was breathing" - didn't have plans to head that way but ministry inspector suggested should apply - once in principalship received positive reinforcement and encouragement - was automatically thinking of the next level - if he can be good at this especially when dealt challenging schools then he can do more - S.O. papers was next logical step - talked about more money and fact that now married with children - viewed S.O. as next logical progression - no specific timeline for expectations - director asked him to apply for position as superintendent (note was only 34/35 years old at the time) - wanted position to be that of personnel - it was changed to that for him - applied to please director who he describes as his mentor</p>

Personal Characteristics

Table 8 summarizes the responses to the question: What personal qualities and characteristics do you possess that have assisted you in your career? It was found that the males, and in particular M4, were uncomfortable with this question. The men hesitated in their responses and needed further clarification of the question. Even when the question was restated, M4 continued in a discussion of the support he had received over the years as opposed to describing his personal qualities. The females were apparently more comfortable with the question and did not require clarification or redirection.

Table 8

Personal Qualities and Characteristics

Subject	What personal qualities and characteristics do you possess that have assisted you in your career?
F1	-credits her inner strength with keeping her morale up and her spirits going - never consciously to change her image instead worked hard at being accepted - vision that school should be fun - and that learning should give people opportunities - enjoys being considered "too nice" thinks this is a positive point not, as she was told, a negative point
F2	organized, caring, good listener, empowers others, gives people room
F3	deal with people well -deal with honesty - trust sense of confidence - probably as a woman it's been an advantage to have a competitive instinct - finds a different path and a different ladder for men and women - different qualities needed - can't pinpoint it
F4	flexibility, take pieces into whole, fit together integrated whole -have helped to get separate departments to integrate - creativity - sense of vision - stamina is critical - has learned over the years to balance personal and professional life - didn't at first
F5	- strong belief in collaborative work - believe individuals are their own experts - we don't tend to tap people far enough - have talents - self-esteem is currently low for most teachers - feels she has a strong ability to empower others - make them better more able to realize their potential - professionalism - justice and fairness - willing to speak out re; injustices - likes to have fun - joy is important aspect of life - prevent problems rather than react to them - energy foresight and vision - support, direction and helping - keep one foot in the present and one in the future.
M1	good mediator, thorough, detail (pays attention) - juggler, initiator of change - can always improve because it's a process - get people to take on personal ownership
M3	sympathetic listener - see all sides on any issue - express self easily - love politics - joined political club and became president - ran for campus politics - open person - sincere - no pretensions, presents self for positions in open fashion - has been advised against this

table continues ...

Subject	What personal qualities and characteristics do you possess that have assisted you in your career?
M4	higher than average energy level - good health - always had support of family - goes on to discuss the important people who have supported him - (note to self: recall on redirect still was evasive about personal qualities - kept discussing support provided for him)
M5	people person - being self- being honest - treating people equally and with dignity and respect - be friendly to all - gear yourself totally to position, sense of humour - being committed

Significant Experiences

Table 9 summarizes the responses to the question: What experiences have you had that you would deem to be significant in allowing you access to your present or past positions? This question was most frequently answered indirectly during the career history portion of the interview. In such instances the question was reworded to provide clarification of the importance of the event or events mentioned. M5 was the only individual who, initially, could not respond to this question as his most important experience was, he felt, too personal to be mentioned. On restating the question however, he was able to discuss significant growth periods he had experienced.

Table 9**Experiences that are Significant**

Subject	What experiences have you had that you would deem to be significant in allowing you access to your present or past positions?
F1	had an ineffective principal at one point and found herself organizing things - got into administration without realizing it - became involved in teachers federation - and developed reputation as tougher person - this was significant as she was considered too nice to be a vice principal
F2	cumulation - at Catholic Girls' school approximately 6 years - type of girls had changed - lots of at risk kids - staff were coming to her for help - the kids were starting to tell stories - worked with another teacher on staff who was a social worker to develop a program for these girls - took other duties away from this teacher so she could run the program - counselling of students - they named the place after her - alternative program grew out of this - is very proud of the role she has played in supporting this place - first ever group is graduating this year and invited her back to speak - proud of her accomplishment
F3	second school she taught at - principal created great sense of community - got staff involved - fostered leadership - also experience as summer school supervisor and then principal was significant in giving
F4	work with ministry at regional office - had opportunity to work with people from lots of other boards - chance to travel, visit and discuss - grasp of the big picture - how we fit into the ministry (she then went on to discuss people who were primarily important)
F5	first was teaching a grade four nonreader - found way to get student to like reading by tapping interest - this person now an aeronautical engineer - cue was to use intuition - not traditional but gut - cued into people - don't get locked in - to be able to problem solve in ways not associated with women - gained confidence to act against traditional ways of women of her time period - got first principalship at age 26 - superintendents assistance was to say "you know what to do" - expansion of experiences - approach has always been - always find that "if I don't know something then ask the students"

table continues ...

Subject	What experiences have you had that you would deem to be significant in allowing you access to your present or past positions?
M1	<p>federation training excellent - was president of local and provincial councillor of teacher's federation - also church connections - leadership provided in that field - a previous director encouraged him to take his S.O. papers to fill an upcoming retirement position - the assistant superintendency position was a training ground for superintendency</p>
M3	<p>high school very involved in coaching - working with kids reduces discipline problems - always on the lookout for new ideas and teaching strategies - comfortable with change - never viewed teaching as a comfortable job - modelled self after own role models - experience of opening first new school - began with nothing - no school song only 300 students - now it's one of the bigger schools with 1500 or 1600 students</p> <p>-also credits involvement in provincial principal's association - he helped to found this and was asked to be president - role is to form networks, exert political pressure for funding - very active - got to know people - close association with teachers federation and trustees - also held position as separate school trustee on public board (before full funding)</p> <p>- involved in community - charities- importance of getting contacts - getting to know people</p>
M4	<p>lots of opportunity early in career to get involved in informal leadership - became involved in committee work - tended to chair committees - federally funded curriculum project offered opportunity to travel, meet individuals - first principal while he was a V.P. was not at his best therefore he had the opportunity to take on many of the roles of principal early - gained confidence and notice of director - took advantage of the opportunity - last principal worked with was difficult situation - he made most of it - caught a lot of notice</p> <p>- federation involvement - seen as route for fast tracking but he thought he would take curriculum route - however did become district vice president - currently is president of supervisory officer's association</p> <p>- feels involvement at provincial level is important deliberately seek provincial involvement/perspective because it helps you to do your job better - feel obligated to do this kind of contribution - satisfaction that comes from moving to next level - at each level in his career has had this type of involvement - find it quite rewarding</p>

table continues ...

Subject	What experiences have you had that you would deem to be significant in allowing you access to your present or past positions?
M5	experience of most importance he felt he couldn't mention - too personal - did mention growth period and discussed his mentors - also was in one superintendency where he learned what not to do

Support of Family, Peers and Supervisors

Table 10 summarizes all comments made with regard to the support received by family, peers and supervisors. Once again some of these comments were made throughout the previous portions of the interview. Comments in regard to support of supervisors were made during the career history and motivation to administration sections of the interview. References to family support appeared most frequently in the motivation to teach section.

Table 10**Career and Personal Support Mentioned**

Subject	Comments made in regards to support provided for career or personal development
F1	<p>FAMILY - two children, both girls are supportive now - husband says he is but has never put himself out to help - he's supposed to do things around the house but doesn't - will do things if you ask him to - biggest strain has been family career strain and male chauvinism of husband (her words)</p> <p>PEERS - women's federation colleagues and a few male colleagues - primarily the work with the federation was important</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - told her to change style to meet their preconceived notions of what a leader was - once she was in place they supported her</p>
F2	<p>FAMILY - strongest support came from family, parents, siblings - admits doesn't know if could have done it if family was in same province - time commitment to job is enormous - no time for personal</p> <p>PEERS - executive member of WEO for several years - formed close relationship with women there - feels fact that was in all girls surroundings most of the time was important</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - not active and yet no hindrance either</p>

table continues ...

Subject	Comments made in regards to support provided for career or personal development
F3	<p>FAMILY - family supportive but not well off - received bursaries, scholarships etc for university - no one else at university therefore didn't have professional career growth pattern to follow - mother very supportive but at same time doesn't understand importance of career - as principal - offered to show mum school she was very proud of - mum replied - "once you've seen one school you've seen them all"</p> <p>- husband - very supportive - not in competition - doesn't want board talk sometimes</p> <p>PEERS - group of female friends from one school she taught at - still meet occasionally - are supportive and understanding of each other - mutual support mentioned concept of reinforcement as opposed to encouragement - also WEAO - network to meet other women in ed admin (vice principals and up) to unashamedly talk about education - difference between WEAO and OCSOA (Ontario Catholic Supervisory Officers Association) - while the former has guest speakers etc - the latter has golf on agenda - while male administrators have time to take up golf because they aren't worried about the home life thing the way women are - no women administrator has time for golf</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - two principals have been very good - superintendents have been fabulous - current director is fabulous - has taught her about the board and the job - very honest - very formal performance appraisal</p>
F4	<p>FAMILY - have high expectations of her - also has extended family - a colleague who became like a sister due to shared experience - this is second family - supportive</p> <p>PEERS - when started into administration was often asked "don't you like teaching" - female colleagues felt threatened by choice - when she became a principal - three females were hired at same time so comments of "of course she's a woman" were made - finally support came when she became a superintendent - when moved boards - had kept this decision to herself - when moved there was a going away party</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - have supported her - first principal asked her what her plans were - exception a director who refused her request for time off from superintendency to pursue her doctorate in education - in general people have said go for it</p>

table continues ...

Subject	Comments made in regards to support provided for career or personal development
F5	<p>FAMILY - mother encouraged her to take a course at university after teacher's college - father - personal life skills - such as construction - ability to take risks - aunt is very supportive although dislikes the time involvement in the evenings that the job requires - discouragement ie: possibility of a move away from location in order to gain a directorship - spiritual counsellor - keeps her focused</p> <p>PEERS - more support from senior administration than from peers - tend to keep to herself and confides only in close friends and intimates - also an Employee Assistance Program person who is close personal friend.</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - feel very supported and loved - valued - 2 supervisors who supported and yet feels strongly that Old Boys' Network definitely exists - now as superintendent - the role is far more political and exclusion exists</p>
M1	<p>FAMILY - wife is a housewife and this has been especially important - if she had been working would not have been able to do it - children have been very supportive</p> <p>PEERS - at every level, peers have supported and encouraged him</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - extremely supportive - provided him with opportunities for leadership development - encouraged him to apply - (side note - these are the same people, at the same time, that F1 dealt with)</p>
M3	<p>FAMILY - very strong support - years when a coordinator, four young children needed a lot of attention - also principal years no summers off - this was when family support was best</p> <p>PEERS - network of other principals - at local level seven high schools - a number of principals felt they should work closely together formed association - would meet once a month - ended up becoming president - worked hard at uniting the system - much support amongst principals - support for change of career mutual recognition that all had strengths (5 men and 2 women in group)</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - excellent support from principals as teacher - excellent support as curriculum - generally good support from superintendents - directors have supported - the directors have also supported his decision to examine becoming a director himself</p>

table continues ...

Subject	Comments made in regards to support provided for career or personal development
M4	<p>FAMILY - supportive of work - feel sometimes that he works too much - would consider move to different board and feels wife has skills that are portable - family recognized that lack of encouragement would mean he was unself-fulfilled and would be miserable to live with - glad children were older by time became a superintendent - would have bothered him to compromise his commitments to young kids and job</p> <p>PEERS - fortunate to have worked with professional colleagues who have supported, encouraged and taught him much - people early on invited him to get involved in curriculum - some resentment of pace when he became a vice principal - but he feels that since his pace to headship was slow he merited fast pace to principal</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - superintendents and directors who have given positive feedback and support especially when he was taking "such a long time" to get headship - told not to give up - don't get wrong idea - currently has strong support of director - is taking on significant responsibilities as president of supervisory officer's association</p>
M5	<p>FAMILY: - wife - total support - adventuresome re moves - support beyond the call - when kids were young he had night commitments - became superintendent young - lots of pressure and stress - had to be tolerant and understanding - she spent lots of time alone with kids - kids thought everyone's dad was away at evening meetings - didn't know better</p> <p>PEERS - generally very supportive - some problems when he became principal but this was miscommunication that was cleared up - in one principalship, originally a fear of the out of towners but this dissipated quickly - in his experience lots of support - once became a superintendent felt nothing but support from peers</p> <p>SUPERVISORS - asked to apply for superintendency - supportive</p>

Key Players in Career

Table 11 summarizes the responses to the question: Have there been any key players in your career,-- individuals who have played a significantly important role? On redirection, the question: Would you consider this person a mentor? was then asked. This was done consistently, beginning with the second interview. In the first interview, the female respondent had made a specific reference to her lack of mentors, however, in the second interview, the respondent, a male, made mention of supportive individuals but hesitated in referring to these people as mentors. While all of the women who had mentor relationships had no hesitation in discussing them as such, one even announced that she was "very proud to call X and Y her mentors", the men all hesitated in calling their supports "mentors". They preferred to call them friends, colleagues and role models. Again, the responses to this question were frequently first elicited in other sections of the interview, specifically in the section on support of peers and supervisors. As before, the question was redirected, most frequently by simply asking if the person mentioned earlier could be considered a mentor.

Table 11**Mentorship Mentioned**

Name	Mentorship (or other significant person of influence) mentioned
F1	none
F2	a colleague in WEAO (Women in Educational Administration in Ontario) has acted as a mentor
F3	two men - current director of board where she works is extremely supportive - as well the superintendent, in similar role, in the coterminus board has helped to show her the ropes, used to go for lunch frequently
F4	two men - one a superintendent while she was a consultant/teacher in early years of career - the other a superintendent while she was program coordinator - she ultimately took his position - career mentor
F5	two men and one women - all now retired from positions in educational administration - also mentioned association with WEAO - helped organize a local chapter - discussed how women talk to women differently from the way they deal with and talk to men - have to be tough guy with men - choose different words to make the same point
M1	while department head had a principal who could possibly be considered a mentor - worked very closely with this man - also the previous male director encouraged and supported him - encouraged him to take his S.O. papers to fill upcoming position that would be vacated through retirement
M3	high school principal when he was student was role model helped a lot - first principal as a teacher was supportive - superintendent of curriculum was great role model - still call him for advice -also Bishop of diocese was supportive of career, personal growth
M4	uncomfortable with concept of mentor - closest is fellow from teacher's college - a couple of people have these characteristics - he considers them more friends than mentors - share ideas openly

table continues ...

Name	Mentorship (or other significant person of influence) mentioned
M5	<p>greatest impact was two models - grade seven/eight teacher - ultimately became a director of education - would meet at conferences once M5 reached principalship and superintendency - both peers but M5 still felt like the student - when need someone to talk to still call him</p> <p>professional growth - the director of board where he first became superintendent - model that he set for Christian Leadership qualities - encouragement he gave - absolutely outstanding individual</p>

Discouragement in Career

Table 12 summarizes the responses to the question: Have you ever felt that you were hindered or discouraged in your career by individuals or by not having access to information or contacts? This question was asked directly to each participant as no prior reference to such discouragement had been made in the course of the interview.

Table 12

Hindrances and Discouragements

Name	Have you ever felt that you were hindered or discouraged in your career? a.) individuals b.) lack of access to information or contacts
F1	first years as a superintendent, first female, alone, frustrated, men didn't want dealings with her, not included, Old Boy's Network, felt as outsider at first, gradual acceptance
F2	no hindrances - but then until very recently was part of an all girls environment - feels that this is the difference - by time came to board office had several successful years as principal under her belt
F3	information is power - has felt excluded at times from information circle - as if people are holding back - swimming with the sharks - yet feels never discriminated against
F4	made it her business to find out information - works to be part of the circle
F5	Old Boy's Network definitely exists - also still fighting the fight of women to be allowed to show their softer side - must build total trust with group and then can be more open - women must know what to mention and when - learn to be astute - danger of being accused of getting on a hobby horse (ie: always whistling the same tune)
M1	no for both - always was part of the team - no old boys in place (compare to F1 who was there at same time)
M3	no - everyone has been supportive to face - never been out of the circle of information
M4	no - you're captain of your own destiny - can't imagine an organization where information is kept from some - never had to fight - only sense of frustration was in length of time it took to become head
M5	yes - at one board - but then everyone was in the same boat - this resulted from the director who was not very good and who kept everyone out of touch - other than this situation has never felt out of the circle of information

Personal Strain or Conflict

Table 13 summarizes the responses to the question: Have you ever felt personal strain or conflict in performing your job? As in other instances, the responses here are summarized from comments made throughout as well as comments made in response to the specific question.

Table 13**Conflict or Strain Felt**

Name	Have you ever felt personal strain or conflict in performing your job?
F1	definitely - biggest strain has been juggling family and career - came from traditional family - was working at board office, working on S.O. papers and raising young kids all at the same time - also dealing with male chauvinistic husband
F2	definite strain - there's been a conflict between the job and personal values - not much time for self - easier in that family is out of province - long distance phone calls are support but no demands to see and visit as often - giving of self totally - is slowly finding time for personal things
F3	absolutely - lonely position as superintendent - irony is that moved to improve quality of life for family but hasn't ultimately - has to get away from it all for vacations because people contact her at home too - principal position was more stressful
F4	yes there's conflict and strain but view this as healthy - never enough time in the day - has to make concerted effort for personal time - used to work every weekend - now keeps work at work - doesn't bring it home - makes time for exercise regularly
F5	yes - a conflict between job and personal values - wants to act beliefs - wants groups she's involved with to look and to be good - needs integrity - doesn't like incongruence personally - needs own space and budgets time for family, friends, and exercise - very involved in church - also personal development - computer literacy
M1	not really - always part of a team - never felt separation
M3	at times - would have wanted a little more time with the kids
M4	some strain/conflict felt but glad family is independent - strong commitment to complete a task but doesn't work any harder now than used to
M5	yes - but you can't do job without that - conflict is in being asked to perform duties outside of area of expertise - do the best that he can

Summary

In one of the last questions of the interview the participants were asked to describe their career path in general terms. The responses to this question were found to be expansions on other sections of the interview and thus were summarized within those sections. Finally, all participants responded in the affirmative when asked if they wished a summary of the results. A summary matrix was created that compared the key points in each section for the two groups in the study. This table, Table 14, used paraphrasing, counting and direct quotes to summarize the information obtained and was the first step in data analysis.

Table 14

Overall Summation of Findings

Item	Females	Males
Marital Status	2 of 5 are married, 1 married much more recently in career 1 divorced 2 of 5 never married	4 of 4, all either before career or in very early years of career
Children	1 has independent children 1 has young (under 10) children	4 have independent children
Spouse - characteristics	1 - described as chauvinistic 1 described as helpful - although he works full time too	1 has wife who works only in home 3 have wives who also work outside home
Assistance	3 have condos; 1 has a nanny; 1 had a cleaner when kids were home	2 have no outside assistance; 2 have cleaners
Bachelor's Degree	3 of 5 received their degree through part time study after beginning their teaching careers - of these one took time off teaching to complete degree work 2 took degrees prior to teacher's college 4 had B.A.s one has a B.A. in chemistry	1 of 4 received his degree through part time study after beginning his teaching career 3 of 4 received degrees prior to teacher's college 4 have B.A.s
Masters	4 of 5 have M.Ed.; 3 in Ed. Admin; 1 in Special Education	all have master's degrees - 2 have double masters - their field (both are history) plus education - of the M.Ed. - 2 are admin; 1 is planning; 1 is curriculum and admin

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Other Qualifications (areas mentioned)	<p>special education - 3 times library - once; guidance - 2 times; religion - 3 times; phys ed - 2 times</p> <p>2 people are specialists in special ed 1 person is phys ed specialist 1 person is specialist in primary</p>	<p>guidance - once; religion once ; special ed - once; history - 1 person</p> <p>2 are specialists in history</p>
Educational Goals Mentioned	<p>1 person has reached goal 3 people - feel must continue to take courses always - love study - love taking courses, one says "I've exceeded every goal I could ever have dreamed of" 1 person - hoping to complete PhD in 1996</p>	<p>4 people have reached goal, although 2 indicate that committee work is still important</p>
Career Goals Mentioned	<p>2 considering option of directorship, third says won't rule out - but not an ultimate goal - all three mention that because of age - further work is possible - perhaps ministry 1 mentioned that so far all possible goals reached - needed challenge - and filled need 1 person - retire</p>	<p>1 person - retire and do something else - volunteer work - something where skills can be utilized by those in need 2 people - directorship, although one says retirement is very close so maybe not 1 person - retire</p>

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Comparing Averages From Table Three	<p>Age - 50.2 Career time - 28.8 (over 30.4) Teaching/Head time - 11.2 (1 of 5 was head)</p> <p>V.P Time - 3.6 (only 4 of 5 were V.P.) Principal time - 4.6 Board Office time - 4.2 (Note 2 of 5 had time as coordinator or consultant prior to superintendency) Assistant Superintend - 1.4 (2 of 5 people) Superintendent - 4.6 Time to superintendency - 24.2 (over 25.8) 84% of career time is prior to super</p>	<p>Age - 51.75 Career time - 28.75 Teaching/Head Time - 7.75 (3 of 4 were heads) V.P Time - 4.5 (only 2 of 4 were V.P.) Principal Time - 7.75 Board Office time - 1 (1 person had time as consultant)</p> <p>Assistant Superintendent - .75 (1 of 4 people) Superintendent - 9.5 Time to superintendency - 19.25 67% of career time is prior to teaching</p>
Motivation for Teaching - Key Words	<p>- all five mention that teaching was their first career option (2 mention that it was their only option since nursing was out) - picked due to experience working/teaching youth - love of school - love of learning - desire to help - thought it would be great fun</p>	<p>1 urban planner; 2 lawyers and 1 dentist - switch to teaching occurred because of prospect of job (1) - encouragement (2 + 1(job)) - doesn't know why (1)</p> <p>"convenience and circumstance"</p>

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Motivation for Administration	2 mention - was doing the job already - to avoid a possible lay off - active involved and then asked to take role officially - grew out of work for benefit of kids in need (2 people) - exciting - chance to effect greater change - make contribution at broader level - nobody else wanted it - never occurred otherwise than to be involved - got into it without realizing	"male who was breathing" - got into teaching and thought "what is my career path" - would need position or not be satisfied - was in the right place at the right time - try something else - felt contribution was to be made - encouraged - recognized - pragmatism (other positions not available) - felt "I can do more"
Personal Qualities	empower other (2) - people person (1) inner strength to keep morale up - balance personal life - justice - fairness - caring - good listener - give others opportunities (2) - sense of vision (3) - collaborative work - being "too nice" - organized - honesty - competitive (thinks this is important due to gender) - flexible - creativity - integrate others - joy, fun- support - direction - helping	thorough - detail - change initiator - can always improve - get people to take ownership - fix things - will to improve - drive to make things better - loves politics - sympathetic listener - open - sincere - energy level - people person (1) - give yourself totally to position (note: one person kept veering away from discussing personal attributes other than good health and instead continued to mention support of others)

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Significant Experiences	<p>- found herself organizing things due to ineffective principal - work with federation - establishing a special program for girls having lots of problems in school - experience running summer school program, developing programs for special needs students - work with the ministry - greater perspective - teaching a grade four nonreader</p> <p>(note: - 3 of 5 mention work with students in need; 1 of 5 mentions work with ministry - this was on behalf of special ed students)</p>	<p>federation training - church connections - assistant superintendency position - network of people to deal with "if you know someone you can get things done" - - experience opening own school - involvement in principal's association (networks)- Cancer Society (get contacts) - committee work - federation involvement (seen as route to advancement) - superintendency at a board where he learned what not to do</p>
Professional Organization Involvement	<p>1 person says this involvement was important in order to be recognized as a tougher person</p> <p>WEAO - 3 OPSOA - treasurer OCSSOA - member</p>	<p>Federation (2)- 1 president local - provincial councillor - other was in branch and provincial principal's association- president + all other positions Trustee on Public Board supervisory officer's association - provincial president</p>
Mentorship	<p>1 had no mentor at all 1 has a colleague in WEAO who acts like a mentor 3 have mentors (each has two men, one also has a woman) - were proud to say these people had helped them with their careers</p>	<p>- all 4 men became hesitant - weren't comfortable with calling these people mentors so much as friends and colleagues - all 4 mentioned 1 male - 3 had a second male mentor - 1 just mentioned two colleagues and refused to call them mentors</p>

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Support - Family	<p>1 person - male chauvinistic husband, this was problem, strain</p> <p>1 person - strongest support is family, extended family yet strain - not enough time</p> <p>1 person - supportive but not fully understanding - husband good, yet strain quality of life for kids</p> <p>1 person - extended family, has learned to make time</p> <p>1 person - mother - although doesn't want her to move for job</p>	<p>1 person - wife is housewife - otherwise couldn't do it</p> <p>1 person - wife has raised kids, most important when time commitments were greatest</p> <p>1 person - glad he didn't have to choose between kids and job - kids were older by the time he became a super</p> <p>1 person - wife is total support - kids think dad being away is normal</p>
Support -Peers	<p>1 person - women's federation colleagues - a few males</p> <p>1 person - WEO colleagues</p> <p>1 person - close group of female friends and WEO</p> <p>1 person - support came later - not initially - only when became a super - kept decision to self</p> <p>1 person - tends to confide only in intimates</p>	<p>1 person - always lots of support</p> <p>1 person - network of support mutual recognition</p> <p>1 person - fortunate - lots of support and encouragement - invitations to get involved</p> <p>1 person - generally very supportive - especially when he became a superintendent.</p>
Support - Supervisors	<p>1 person - told to change style to meet their notion of leader</p> <p>1 person - not active support yet no hindrance</p> <p>1 person - 2 principals, 1 director have been good</p> <p>1 person - in general yes - 1 director didn't support time off for doctorate</p> <p>1 person - yes but Old Boy's Network exists at super level - yet feels supported and loved</p>	<p>1 person - extremely supportive, encouragement, invited his application</p> <p>1 person - excellent support</p> <p>1 person - strong support - even lots of encouragement when it took him "a long time" to become a V.P.</p> <p>1 person - was asked to apply for superintendency - good support</p>

table continues ...

Item	Females	Males
Discouragement	<p>1 person - Old Boy's Network - alone, frustrated, men didn't want to deal with her - outsider</p> <p>1 person - part of all girls' environment until recently - by then had 11 yrs as principal under belt</p> <p>1 person - swimming with sharks - has felt excluded - information is power - she was out of information circle</p> <p>1 person - works to be included -has made it her business to find out information</p> <p>1 person - Old Boy's Network definitely exists - has learned what to say to men - must be astute - watch words</p>	<p>1 person - always part of team - no old boys network (at same place as F1)</p> <p>1 person - never</p> <p>1 person - can't imagine an organization that wouldn't include everyone</p> <p>1 person - no (except once when director kept everyone out of touch)</p>
Conflict	<p>1 person - definitely - juggle family and career, raising kids, working on SO papers and doing job at same time</p> <p>1 person - definite - job and personal values - slowly finding time for personal side - family is distant - couldn't do it if family were in town</p> <p>1 person - definitely - lonely - struggle to have good family life - find time for self and family</p> <p>1 person - definitely - has learned to make time for self , used to work every weekend</p> <p>1 person - definitely - makes time for self - conflict job and personal values - has learned to express personal feelings in meetings</p>	<p>1 person - not really</p> <p>1 person - at times, want a little more time with kids</p> <p>1 person - some - but family is independent</p> <p>1 person - conflict is asking you to do a task outside of area of expertise</p>

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was designed in order to examine and compare the career paths of female and male educational administrators. Within this chapter, a discussion, of the findings of the study is presented. To facilitate this discussion the initial research questions which were outlined in Chapter One are examined, both in regard to the data collected during the interview process, as outlined in Chapter Four, and in relationship to the relevant theories and models as developed throughout Chapter Two. Through this discussion each of the questions will be answered and relevant conclusions will be drawn. Subsequent to this, the limitations inherent in the current study, and the recommendations for further research which have arisen from these limitations will be discussed. Further, the possible implications this study has both for research and for practice are presented. Finally, a summary of the study is presented.

What are Women's Career Paths in Educational Administration?

The first of the series of questions asked was as follows: What are women's career paths in educational administration? Are they different from men's? If they are different, how do they differ? In what ways are they different from men's? These questions are answered primarily in the career-

history portion of the interview with relevant sections from the educational and personal background portions also included.

From the educational background provided in Table 2 it can be seen that all nine of the academic superintendents possess their supervisory officer's papers. The male administrators all possess a master's degree in education and of the female administrators, four of the five hold a master's degree in education. None of the women possess a second master's degree, while two of the four men possess a second master's degree. While all of the participants possess a bachelor's degree, three of the five women received their degrees through part-time study after beginning their teaching degrees, while only one of the four men received his in this fashion. The women make mention of additional qualifications in an average of three areas each. For three of the five women, one of these areas mentioned is the area of special education. The men mention additional qualifications in an average of one and a half areas each and only one makes mention of qualifications in special education.

The average age of the women is 50.2 years and that of the men is 51.8 years. While all four men are married, only two of the five women are currently married, one woman is divorced. The career span for the two groups is identical at 28.8 years. It is important to note, though, that for the women this actual career length took place over 30.4 years, once timeoff for childrearing and education is taken into consideration. Three of the five

women had time off from teaching or administration careers, two for child-rearing and one for education. None of the men had time off from their careers.

The women have taught for a longer period of time, 11.2 years for women and 7.75 years for men. Three of the five women spent their careers primarily at the elementary level, while only one of the four men spent his career at the elementary level. While teaching, the men were more likely to hold headship positions, three of four, than the women, one of five. This difference could result from the fact that the women primarily taught at the elementary level where no departmental segregation occurs, while the men taught at the secondary level where headships of departments exist. While the women spent less time than the men in positions as vice principal and principal, they spent more time on average as consultants or coordinators. As well, it should be noted that whereas four of the five women were vice principals, only two of the four men held this position. All participants held positions as principal. Two of the five women held positions as consultants or coordinators while only one of the four men held such a position. Two of the five women and only one of the four men held assistant superintendency positions.

Finally, the female participants have spent 4.6 years in the superintendency, while the men have spent 9.5 years to date. This indicates

that despite the similarity in career length, to date women have spent only 16% of their career time as superintendents, while men have spent 33% of their career time in this position. On average, the women interviewed held 5 different types of position prior to the superintendency while the men averaged 3.8 different types of position.

In summarizing the findings to this section, the women interviewed were the same age as the men, had similar levels of qualifications although in a broader number of areas and had similar career lengths once time off for education and child care had been taken into consideration. The women spent longer teaching than the men and were more likely to hold positions as vice principal, elementary principal, coordinator, consultant and assistant superintendent than the men. It has taken longer for the women to attain the position of superintendent than for the men and they have held a greater variety of positions along the way. As well, the majority of the women were involved in elementary education and special education while the majority of the men were specialists in a specific discipline at the high school level.

The characteristics of the women interviewed in this sample appear to be in alignment with the characteristics that other researchers have found. The literature indicates that women in educational administration will be older and less likely to be married (Adkison, 1985; Marshall, 1985; Porat, 1985; Weber et al., 1981). While this sample differs from others in the former aspect, our

men and women were close to the same age; it agrees with the latter characteristic as all four men were married but only two of the five women were married.

The literature goes on to suggest that women will spend more years teaching and spend substantial portions of their careers in off-line positions such as consultant (Early & Weindling, 1988; Gross & Trask, 1976; Grow Maienza, 1986). Here again the participants in this study support the literature. The women spent a greater number of years in teaching as well as occupying several other positions such as coordinators and consultants. Early studies that indicate that women are more drawn to working with at-risk students are supported by this study which found that the women were more likely to be involved in special education incentives than the men (Gross & Trask, 1976). Other researchers have indicated that women have a greater number of career interruptions than men and this is certainly true for this sample (Avioli & Kaplan, 1992; Early & Weindling, 1988).

Finally, one of the successful career paths for women to gain access to administration is through the position of elementary principal, a position held by three of the five female respondents (Shakeshaft, 1989b). The faster track through the secondary principalship was open to only two of the five women (Shakeshaft, 1989b).

The career paths of female and male educational administrators are

different. Women will spend longer teaching and in positions such as consultant, coordinator or assistant superintendent than will men. They will have more career interruptions and spend more of their career time preparing for superintendency than will men. While their academic qualifications for their careers will be similar to men, they will more likely gain additional qualifications in a wider number of areas and take their training on a part-time basis. Women are more likely to be involved in teaching younger children and in developing initiatives for special education programs.

How does the Mentoring Process Influence Careers in Educational Administration?

- The second series of questions is: How does the mentoring process influence careers in educational administration? Does it work differently for men than for women? These two questions are answered in the section of the interview where participants were asked to describe any key player or individual who had played a significant role in their careers. This interview question was followed with the more specific question of whether or not this person could be considered a mentor.

One of the five female participants indicated that she had no mentor or significant individual during her career. The other four women indicated that they each had a mentor. For one participant, her mentor was a female colleague from WEAO (Women Educational Administrators of Ontario). The

other three women were very proud to indicate that they had mentors. Each of these three women had two male mentors and one participant also had a female mentor. The mentors were described as colleagues or superiors who, at various stages of their careers helped the women to "learn the ropes". These individuals provided advice and support. In one instance, the participant filled the mentor's position when he moved on to a new position.

The men were far more hesitant to describe the friends, colleagues and superiors who assisted them in their careers as actual mentors. One man did indicate that a past principal could possibly be considered a mentor. The other men, all of whom had key players in their careers, were far more comfortable calling these people role models and friends rather than mentors. These individuals appeared to provide the men with support, encouragement to apply for positions and a forum for sharing ideas. The participants indicated that these key players were often met for lunch, at conferences and were called upon when questions needed answering. All of these individuals were men and most were in superior positions to the participant.

In the literature a mentor is described as an individual who is usually a superior to the protégé. This individual provides assistance to the protégé by teaching, counselling, and sponsoring as well as providing encouragement, acknowledgement, feedback and advice (Haslett et al., 1992; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Jacobi, 1991; McNeer, 1986; Wentling, 1992). Many researchers feel

that while a mentor is important for a man it is absolutely essential for a woman to have a mentor to be successful (Edson, 1981; Kanter, 1977).

In this particular study it is apparent that these women, all of whom can be considered to have successfully shattered the glass ceiling have, in the majority, received assistance in their careers by various mentors. That these mentors are men, correlates to the current literature that indicates that while same-gender relationships are considered best, the relationship between a female protégé and male mentor is perhaps more beneficial to the protégé as the male mentor may possess a greater power base than a female mentor (Noe, 1988). For the female participants, there exists a lack of other women within their boards who could act as a mentor for them. The relatively low number of women in positions of superintendent within the region also accounts for the lack of same-gender mentor relationships accessible to the participants of this study. This is a situation noted in the literature as a deterrent to the development of same-gender mentorships for women (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Leong, et al., 1992). For those two women who had female mentors, one found her mentor in a network that was formally developed to provide women in educational administration with role models and the potential for mentoring relationships.

The hesitancy of the men to describe their key players as mentors was not predicted from the literature. That mentors are not as essential for men as

they are for women has been suggested, but the trend to initiate mentoring relationships is a long-standing masculine tradition (Dodgson, 1986; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kanter, 1977). It is possible that the men interviewed were uncomfortable admitting that they needed assistance at any point in their career or it is possible that these individuals had achieved this level in the hierarchy without involvement in a significant mentoring relationship. Further examination of their relationships with their key players would be required to resolve this issue.

Thus, while it is apparent that the mentoring process influences the careers of female educational administrators, it is not apparent whether it influences the careers of the male administrators. It could be concluded, from the data in this study, that mentoring does act differently for women than for men. The mentor-protégé relationship is more formally developed and remains along hierarchical lines for women. In contrast, it can be suggested that, for men, the relationship is less formal, more comfortable and thus less easily defined as a true mentor-protégé relationship.

How does Power Influence the Careers of Educational Administrators?

The third series of questions revolves around issues of power. How does power influence the careers of educational administrators? Do men and women attain power differently? Do they use power differently? While no questions in the interview specifically delved into the participants' perception of

power, it had been established from the literature that involvement in mentoring and in networks were important means through which an individual is able to develop a power base (Kanter, 1977).

One of the formal networks available to teachers that provides them with the form of quasi-administrative experiences that are important for developing a power base are the many teachers' federations and professional organizations. Many of the participants in this study made reference to some form of involvement either in their teachers' federation or the principals' or supervisory officers' associations.

Three of the female participants were involved in WEAO (Women in Educational Administration in Ontario), a formally developed network of women administrators created with the intent of providing members with a forum to talk "unashamedly about education - their concerns and fears". One female participant was active in her local FWTAO (Federation of Women Teachers Associations of Ontario) an experience which she clearly credits with providing her with the tougher image she needed to be deemed acceptable for a principalship. Two women made reference to membership in supervisory officers associations; one of these women acted as treasurer at one time. Only one woman made no mention of involvement in any professional organization.

All of the male participants either were or are currently active on the executive of federations, principals' associations or supervisory officers'

associations. The position most commonly mentioned was that of president at either the local or provincial level. One participant indicated that involvement in federation executive was seen as a means to fast tracking. Other participants indicated that their involvement stemmed from being asked to take on the role by a group of friends and colleagues. One respondent indicated that, with a group of male and female colleagues, he had helped to found a local principals' network of which he held every executive position.

In responding to the question on significant experiences that had assisted them in their careers, several of the men made reference to involvement in these federations and associations, as well as the importance of their church connections, public service groups they were involved in, and committee work they had performed on a provincial and national level. The literature clearly indicates that this form of involvement is also significant in providing participants with the exposure and skills that play a key role in advancement and in accumulation of power (Adkison, 1981; Wheatley, 1981).

Thus while it can be seen that involvement is important, it appears as if the level of involvement and the significance this involvement takes differs for the two groups. For the women, the involvement is primarily in women's groups and all-female formal networks, while the men are involved in unisex groups and informal networks as well as mixed-gender formal networks. Research has indicated that women do tend to be more involved in consciously

formed formal networks than men (Metzger, 1985; Schmuck, 1986; Speizer, 1984). The women appear to remain members while the men take on active roles in the executive. This in itself could provide the men with a greater level of experience in the quasi-administrative tasks important to developing anticipatory socialization for higher roles within the hierarchy (Adkison, 1981; Adkison, 1985; Collinson, 1989). As well, their more prominent positions within these organizations would enhance their visibility, an important aspect for developing a power base (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1992; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991).

In the literature on networks, mention is made of the Old Boy's Network - a group of individuals who possess the true power within the organization and pass on information away from the formal lines of communication that exist (Schmuck, 1986; Slauenwhite & Skok, 1991). Two of the female respondents, when asked if they ever felt hindered in their roles specifically made reference to the existence of the Old Boy's Network within their organizations. While one indicated that this network has at times made her feel lonely and frustrated, especially when she first began as a superintendent, the other said that while it exists she has learned how to deal with it. She did indicate, however, that she knew that in dealing with these men she had to modify her language to meet their notions of what would be appropriate. Interestingly, the participant who made reference to the loneliness

of dealing with the Old Boy's Network worked with one of the male participants who indicated that there had never been an Old Boy's Network present in his organization. Of the other women, one had no encounter with an Old Boys Network but credits this to the fact that she spent most of her career in an all-girls environment. One women said her current position was like "swimming with the sharks" and the fifth female participant said that she "made it her business to find out information". All of the men interviewed either could not imagine the existence of a network that would exclude an individual or were convinced it did not exist in their organization.

It appears as if the male and female participants in this study have been influenced by access to power in different ways and have attained power differently. The men have actively been involved in several different types of quasi-administrative positions that are considered important stepping stones towards being known and seen as involved in administration (Adkison 1981; Morrison et al., 1987; Terborg, 1977). On the other hand, the women have been more on the fringes of these organizations or have become involved in all- women's organizations which perhaps would limit their visibility and power base. The women are excluded from the informal network of information, the Old Boy's Network, or must work hard to be included in it. One telling comment made by a female participant was on the existence of golfing time in the agenda for a supervisory officers' conference. She indicated that this was

great for the men but that it automatically excluded the women who, due to home responsibilities, frequently could not afford to take up golf. Thus women are excluded from the alliances that are so important for attaining power and yet their attempts to be involved indicate that they recognize the importance to their careers of these alliances.

Another significant area is that of the use of power by the male and female participants. Porat (1989) indicates that women are less likely to exert their power and more likely to use their power to empower others. An indication of the use of power appeared in the responses to the question on personal qualities required for the position held. While two of the five women indicated that their ability to empower others was an important quality to their success in attaining their position, this was not mentioned by any of the men. The women also indicated that collaboration and giving others opportunities and direction were qualities of significance for leaders to possess. In contrast the men referred to their ability to be change initiators, to "get people" to take ownership, and to fix things. The tone used appears to be different for the two groups involved, the women appear to be empowering while the men are supervising. This suggests a different approach to leadership. As suggested in the literature it is unclear if noted differences are related to different styles or to different career experiences (Adkison, 1981; Erickson, 1985; Fauth, 1984; Prolman, 1982).

It is apparent therefore that accumulating power, through participation in the formal and informal networks of information exchange, is seen by the participants of this study as an important component in their careers. It is also apparent that women and men accumulate this power in different fashions, men tend to be more actively involved in quasi-administrative tasks, and have a greater access to informal networks while women must work for acceptance and are more likely involved in all-female networks. As well, it appears that men and women utilize power differently - women use it to empower others, while men use it to get things done or to supervise.

What Motivates Men and Women to Enter into School Administration?

This question was broken down in the interview process into two parts, what motivated you to become a teacher and then what motivated you to become an administrator?

For all five women it was very clear that their first career choice was teaching. They chose this mainly due to a love of working with youth, gained through prior experience in teaching Sunday School, recreation programs or other youth programs. The women indicated clearly that they had a love of school and of learning and a desire to help. Three of the five women began teaching straight from high school and then took degrees at a later stage. For one participant, an early teacher was a role model and for a second participant the work she did assisting her mother, who was a teacher, made a profound

impact on her own decision to pursue this career.

None of the men initially wanted to enter teaching. One wanted to be an urban planner, two wanted to be lawyers, and one a dentist. Their career plans changed either just before, during, or after university. One remains unclear as to how this switch really occurred while the others credited influences such as the possibility of job prospects, encouragement from past principals or priests and "convenience and circumstance".

The switch to administration occurred differently for the two cohorts. For the women, two mentioned that they realized that they were already doing the job to compensate for inefficient principals. For two, the role developed out of their intense involvement trying to develop programs for students in need. For one participant it had never occurred to her that she should not get involved to the very fullest in anything she did. In addition other comments made included that one individual received a principalship that "no one else wanted". For some of the women their current position comes as a bit of a surprise as they never had a clear goal of achieving a superintendency. One woman mentioned specifically that she enrolled in courses and took additional qualifications as an insurance policy for herself.

One male participant was encouraged to take a teaching position and then once there thought "what is my career path?". Administration was viewed as a logical progression. Another indicated that he would not be satisfied

unless he was promoted and indicated that had he not received a promotion when he did, several years ago, he would quite possibly no longer be in education. For one individual the decision to enter administration was a matter of pragmatism - other positions in curriculum were not at that time available and thus administration was the option that was open. One respondent indicated that he became an administrator because he was a "male who was breathing and hadn't shot himself in the foot".

These responses appear to coincide with the literature that indicates that while women enter the profession to teach and then decide to enter administration later in their careers, the men enter teaching with a clear vision of becoming an administrator (Early & Weindling, 1988; Grow Maienza, 1986; Ortiz, 1982; Prolman, 1982). It appears to remain true that for women, teaching is their first vocation, whereas it is not for men (Gross & Trask, 1976). Many of the participants, both male and female, did indicate that the greatest downfall of their current position was the lack of direct contact it gave to the students. The woman who indicated that originally she gained additional qualifications as an insurance policy echoes the women in Edson's (1988) study of female aspirants who entered graduate school because of the perceived need to develop better qualifications to insure their careers.

It is apparent that women and men are motivated to enter both teaching and administration for different reasons. Women view teaching as a vocation

which they enter for their love of working with youth and especially youth at risk. Men enter teaching for jobs and quickly begin to assess their career possibilities. Women are coaxed into administration at later stages in their careers and with a view to improving the role they can play for the students.

How do Women Experience their Careers?

The final series of questions to be investigated revolve around the way men and women experience their careers. How do women experience their careers? Is it different from the way men experience their careers? These questions were touched upon in several of the areas in the additional influences section of the interview. Most significantly, the respondents described their experience of their career when they discussed the support they received, and the hindrances and conflict they felt throughout their careers. When the respondents reflected on the most significant experience of their career they shed a considerable light on the way they viewed their career.

When asked to describe the significant experiences that had helped prepare them for their current position, the women and men appeared to respond in very different fashions. Four of the five women made mention of situations helping specific students in need or working on behalf of a group of students in need. One woman made mention of her federation involvement as it allowed her supervisors to see her as the tougher, more masculine type of leader. All four men mentioned that their involvement in community groups or

networks were most significant in their careers. Thus the women mention helping others while the men appear to be discussing the process of developing a power base.

In discussing the issue of conflict or strain in their positions, the women unanimously agreed that there was considerable strain and conflict associated with their positions. They related this primarily to the conflict between their job and their family regardless of their marital status. They had dealt with this conflict through on-the-job experience by "making time" for themselves, juggling schedules and hiring a nanny or learning to leave work until tomorrow. As well, the women made reference to the conflict that existed between their job and their personal sense of values. The men, on the other hand, downplayed the strain. They indicated that this was an expected part of their jobs and was not a major issue. The only man who indicated that conflict existed mentioned that it arose from being asked to perform a task outside of his area of expertise. Several of the male respondents indicated that the role their wives had played in raising the children played a significant part in lessening the strain of the position. It is apparent therefore that the women experience a greater level of strain or conflict on the job that the men do.

When asked what degree of hindrance or discouragement they had felt during their career, only one of the five women indicated a lack of hindrance. This she credited to the fact that she worked in an all-girls' environment for the

majority of her career. The other four all indicated that they were hindered by their lack of access to information although one indicated that she made it her business to be involved. One participant indicated that as a woman, she did have to watch her words in meetings and learn to develop trust in order to be open in her dealings with her male colleagues. The men, in comparison, had experienced little discouragement or hindrances in their career advancement.

For the women in the group, a major source of support for their careers has been found in their extended families. For one of the two married women, her husband has provided her with support but prefers she not discuss education too much in his company. For the other married woman, her husband, whom she describes as chauvinistic, has been less than entirely supportive of her career. Her children, now that they are grown, are very supportive of her choices. The three unmarried women have developed the strongest support network of friends and family. Nevertheless, one did mention that her family is less than enthusiastic about the possibility that she may one day move from the area in order to take a career change such as a directorship. Parents are described as supportive, although at times not fully understanding of the demands and requirements of the job. The discussion of support was tempered by the obvious strain that lack of time to spend with family caused for the female participant.

For the male participants, the role that each man's wife played in taking

over much of the child care and household responsibilities was given as a major support. While some mention was made of the role parents had played in supporting initial choices for attending university, there was far less emphasis on the role of the extended family. One participant indicated that he was very glad he didn't have to choose between his family and his career.

Three of the five women are involved in women's networks and they find their greatest peer support within these organizations. For one woman, peer support only came once she became a superintendent. For one woman, peer support has not been present as she does not tend to confide in her peers but instead confides only in her intimates. In contrast all four men mentioned that they received a great deal of support and encouragement from their peers throughout their careers.

For the women, a limited number of supervisors who supported them at specific stages in their careers are mentioned. For one woman, the supervisors, while not providing active support, did not hinder her progress. For a second woman, who was unsuccessful at one point in attaining an administrative position, the support came from supervisors who told her how to change to meet their vision of what a leader should be. The other three respondents, while more positive in their discussion of support, were only able to mention two or three supervisors who were supportive. Again, in contrast, the men mentioned the support and encouragement they received from several

principals, superintendents and directors throughout their careers. One man, who was unsuccessful in attaining a departmental headship at one point, was encouraged to not give up and not to get the wrong idea.

It is apparent from the responses that the men and women in this study experience their careers in different ways. The women feel a greater degree of strain or conflict in dealing with the demands of their job. This feeling has been mentioned frequently in the literature and stems, in part, from the conflict between role and norm expectations for a group working outside of a stereotypical position (Adkison, 1981; Marshall, 1985; Martin, 1993). This would account for the fact that the women mentioned the conflict with personal values not mentioned by the male respondents. The absence of anticipatory socialization into the administrative role heightens the strain felt on transition between teaching and administration and this is felt more keenly by women than men (Adkison, 1981; Marshall, 1985). The fact that most of the female participants were sole women in their position at their board raises the issues of tokenism. As a token representative of a larger group, a woman can feel a greater degree of social isolation, and an increased pressure to perform outstanding work all the time (Nelson & Quick, 1985; Porat, 1985; Schmuck, 1975; Wentling, 1992; Wiggins & Coggin, 1986). This feeling of isolation was expressed by the majority of women in this study.

The differences in the degree of support received reflects society's

classification of what is deemed appropriate for a woman to do with her life. This frequently leads women, such as the woman in this study who did not open up to her peers, to hide their aspirations (Shakeshaft, 1989b; Ortiz, 1982; Wyatt, 1990). In doing this, peers are unaware of these aspirations and thus are unable to support and encourage a candidate fully.

It is apparent then, that women and men experience their careers in educational administration differently. How much of this results from differences in the career paths taken to the position of superintendent is unknown. Nevertheless, it is relevant that the women in this study do experience the strain and conflict on the job, the lesser degree of support for their career choices and the greater degree of strain due to family responsibilities and pressures.

Limitations of Study and Suggestions for Further Research

While the respondents in this study appear to fit the patterns as suggested by the literature, they represent a small number of the total number of male and female superintendents in the province. In the geographical region selected, the female respondents represent 55% of the possible respondents, while the men interviewed represent only 15% of possible candidates. Nevertheless, when combined with the literature on the topic, it is significant that the results agree to such a considerable extent.

Further, this study does not rate the selected candidates on their ability

within their position. Thus, while the study examines successful routes to administration, it does not deal with the issue of successful administrators. Further research would be required to determine which candidates are successful in their positions and what the career route is for successful administrators.

Within the examination of the role of mentors, no specific questions were asked to determine the exact role that the mentor or mentors provided for the protégé. In addition, no questions were asked as to the means through which the relationship was initiated. While these are important areas of interest they were not deemed relevant to the study at hand but would, by themselves, create an area for further research.

The study examines the means through which men and women develop a power base, yet it does not attempt to rank the effectiveness of these approaches beyond the theoretical assumptions presented through the literature. The women frequently mentioned the organization WEAO. The role that this organization plays in encouraging women to pursue positions in educational administration and a comparison of this network to more informal male networks would provide insights into the ways that men and women develop a power base. Further research into the fields of power accumulation and utilization would assist in developing a more comprehensive examination of women in educational administration.

Implications

The impetus for this study was the issuance, by the Ministry of Education for Ontario, of Memorandum No. 111 (Ministry of Education, 1990). In this, it was stated that the representation of women in positions within the educational hierarchy is to be 50% by the year 2000. Thus the question arose as to what type of strategy could, in so few years, accomplish a dramatic turnaround in representation.

Past research has suggested strategies that would "fix the woman". Such strategies would assume that by moulding women into the masculine model of administration, the women would benefit. This type of blaming the victim approach was rejected for this study. Instead, it was felt that to develop a logical strategy for enabling women to gain access to the administrator's chair, a clearer picture of the career paths of women and of men who had shattered the glass ceiling was required. In this fashion, suggestions for new approaches could be developed.

In the past, leadership and training programs developed to assist women and men in their progress through the educational hierarchy, have made the assumption that all aspirants to the administrator's chair are equal - in their motivations, their routes followed and in the ways they experience their careers. Hence, these programs have offered one model of success, one route to the top. This study has shown the motivations and aspirations of all candidates are not

the same. The men and women who are in educational administration and in training programs for administration have, most likely, come from different backgrounds. They have climbed different ladders and have experienced, and will continue to experience, their careers differently. Thus when organizations are developing programs to develop leadership candidates, they must take this into consideration. It is not possible that one training approach, or one model, will be appropriate for all of the administrative aspirants taking the program. Instead a multimodal strategy must be put in place that treats gender as an issue of importance. All those involved in developing leadership programs, at the Board level, Ministry level, and University level, must take into account the varied experiences that leadership candidates possess, in order that their full potential can be tapped.

As well, the differences in experiences will most likely mean that different leadership styles and different uses of power will emerge for women and men. As boards hire, they must be educated to appreciate the wealth of experience and the different approaches that women will bring to the educational forum. In the past, administrators have hired those most like themselves. As one respondent in this study indicated, she was told how to change to fit the board's concept of leadership. The onus should be on the boards to change to fit the new aspirants' vision of leadership. The leadership possibilities for the next century are vast, provided that, as educators, we learn

to respect the multiplicity of available leadership styles.

It is also apparent from this study that while access to the administrator's chair is important, it is equally important to listen to the individual in the chair. The study indicates that women are still not fully part of the information network that exists within the educational hierarchy. Thus for true equity to exist, these informal structures must be torn down. The men interviewed were unaware of their existence and yet the women interviewed not only discussed them, but discussed how they had worked to circumvent these networks. Recognition by all members of the hierarchy that informal networks are present and harmful to the efficient functioning of our educational system will do much to eliminate the structures themselves.

Overwhelmingly, the female respondents in this study discussed the struggle that exists in their lives as they balance career and home responsibilities as well as their personal values and job requirements. Evidently, educational administration does not provide a welcoming environment for all of its members. It may be that, as educators at all levels, we need to rethink the role of the administrator within our system. Sergiovanni (1991) had suggested that one approach was to flatten the hierarchy, which he suggested would make positions within administration more inviting to women. As educational reform is considered, we must ask ourselves what role we wish our leaders to play. Is it possible that the stories of women in administration

can serve to enlighten such decisions?

This study also has implications for those involved in preservice training. Even here, the issue of gender cannot be overlooked. As women and men are trained to be teachers, they must also be made aware of the gender differences that are inherent within the educational structure. From the beginning, women and men appear to enter teaching for different reasons, this implies a difference to their approach to preservice education as much as it does their approach to administration. It is impossible to escape the gendered nature of our world, and yet, for too long we have closed our eyes to this issue. It is important then, that educators involved in preservice education are made aware of the potential for differences between the women and men in their programs. A portion of preservice, and indeed additional qualifications and graduate programs, should be devoted to an examination of values education, with an emphasis on gender differences inherent within our society.

Finally, it is important to understand that when research is done in the area of education, be it of teachers or of administrators, the issue of gender must be taken into account. It is apparent that men and women are involved in education for different reasons. These differences in motivations, coupled with the different ways in which the two groups experience their worlds, will always be present and will alter all aspects of the way women and men educate and administer and more importantly, the way they interact. Any study that

examines only one group and assumes that its findings are relevant to the other group is, of necessity, weakened. This study indicates that the findings of one gender group can not be generalized to the other gender as has been done so frequently in the past.

Summary

This study has been an examination of the career paths of selected women and men who are educational administrators in school boards in the Niagara and Hamilton regions. In the first chapter the underlying rationale for the study was presented as an accompaniment to the questions under investigation. The second chapter detailed the relevant literature related to the issues under study. As a qualitative methodology was utilized for the study, the third chapter presented the rationale behind this approach prior to outlining the design of both the pilot study and the current study. The findings of the current study are presented in Chapter Four and their analysis is developed in Chapter Five.

It is apparent that women are slowly making inroads into the upper echelons of educational administration. They follow a different path from the men and experience their careers differently. They appear to develop a power base in a different fashion and have a greater need for the support of a mentor. Yet, along the route, they gain unique experiences which must certainly be reflected in the ways they perform their jobs. This undoubtedly brings a fresh

approach to educational administration which can not help but to invigorate our educational system.

The fear is that, for many, the pressure and strain of the process may prove too great. As educators, we may be losing a potentially vast pool of resources by the very essence of a hierarchy that, while perhaps not actively hindering such a large group of prospective administrators, does not do its utmost to encourage and support this same group. Further research, support and education will serve to ensure that, in the future, the educational system supports and encourages all participants. To paraphrase a former Minister of Education, it is time go past merely employing women and men. It is time to fully recognize and utilize the skills, and abilities of all men and women who have such an enormous wealth of expertise to offer our educational system.

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Appendix A: Interview Guideline - Pilot Study

Name: _____

Code: _____

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Marital status M _ S _ D/SEP _
 # of years married _____

Spouse's occupation if applicable:

Age bracket 20's _ 30's _ 40's _ 50's _ 60's _

of children

other dependents

Assistance around home cleaning
 garden/snow
 childcare
 other

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Degree/Diploma University/College Year

B.Ed. University Year

Teaching Certificate P/J _ J/I _ I/S _

Teachable Subjects

Other qualifications (current or completed)

Future plans

Principal's Part I

Principal's Part II

Master of Education

Educational Goal (self)

CAREER BACKGROUND

Years teaching

Years away from teaching

of schools

Positions held - include # of years

Other careers/jobs held

Career Goal

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

What motivated you to become a teacher?

What motivates you to enter into educational administration?

As you travel the path to administration, what would you feel are the experiences that have most helped you in attaining your goal?

Do you feel you have had any experiences that have hindered you?

Were there any people that you feel really helped or assisted you in attaining your goal? How did they do this? How did you come into contact with them?

Were there any people that have not supported you or even actively discouraged you? How did they do this? How did you come into contact with them?

Your educational training, contact with colleagues and experiences work together to assist you in your career plan. Which would you consider the most beneficial to you?

Appendix B: Letter to Selected Participants

Date

Dear

I am currently completing my thesis requirement for my Master of Education in Educational Administration at Brock University under the supervision of Dr Robert Knoop ((905) 688 - 5550) . I have randomly selected you, along with 9 others, to be a participant in my study.

The study is an examination of the career paths of women and men administrators. The impetus for the study is Memorandum No. 111 from the Ministry of Education of Ontario (1990). In this memorandum, the ministry set out guidelines for women to hold 50% of the positions within the higher levels of educational administration by the year 2000. In the most recent (1993) report to the legislature, the ministry indicated that while advances towards the target have been made, they have been slow. While women are more successful than men in both the S.O. qualifications and in the Principal's qualifications, they continue to be underrepresented in these positions. My study is an examination of the factors affecting the careers of both women and men so that commonalities and differences may be determined.

If you choose to participate, I would ask that we could meet in a

location and at a time suitable to you, so that I might interview you. The questions I will ask will include questions regarding your qualifications and your career history. Through the interview, I will guide you through a description of your career and the significant factors that have assisted or restricted you. I will be taking notes throughout and would ask that, pending your approval, a tape recording of the interview be made.

The results of my study will be presented partly in a descriptive narrative, but also in tables of related themes from among the participants. Your story will remain confidential. You will be provided with a pseudonym for the presentation purposes. By the end of a year you will be provided with a summary of the results of the study should you so desire.

Your assistance in this study will be greatly appreciated. I will contact you within the month to talk with you in regards to my request. Should you wish further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely

Ann Harrison

17 Marylea Street
Fonthill, Ontario
L0S 1E4

(905) 892-6378

Appendix C: Consent Form**CAREER PATHS IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION****CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN STUDY**

Name of Participant: _____

Date of Consent: _____

This study is an examination of the career paths of women and men who are currently Superintendents of Education within school boards in the Niagara/Hamilton region. These individuals have been randomly selected. The study examines the career history of the individuals, examining demographic background, educational background, and career employment patterns. As well a guided interview process to determine the key factors that have influenced the career of the participant will be performed.

The participant is asked to provide the researcher with answers to the questions asked, but has the right to skip a question and to request clarification at any time. The identity of the participant will remain confidential at all times. The results of the study will be made available to the participant as desired.

Having read this information and posed any remaining questions, I have of the researcher, I agree to give consent to be interviewed.

Signature: _____

I further agree that the conversation I have with the researcher may be tape recorded, with the understanding that it will NOT be recorded without this consent.

Signature: _____

RESEARCHER: Ann Harrison (905) 892- 6378

I agree to keep the identity of the participant fully confidential and will not tape record the interview unless provided with consent to do so. Should, the participant withdraw consent at any time I will honour their request and will not continue my research.

Signature: _____

Appendix D: Interview Guideline - Current Study**INTERVIEW GUIDE (TO BE COMPLETED BY RESEARCHER)**

Name of Participant: _

Pseudonym: _

Date of Interview: _

Personal Background:

Marital Status:

of Years Married:

Spouse's Occupation (if applicable)

Age Bracket:

of children:

of other dependents:

Types of home support eg: gardening, housekeeping, childcare

Educational Background:

List all degrees, diplomas, universities, and years completed or expected completion dates.

List all education related degrees, certificates, additional qualifications course and dates.

List any plans for future degrees, courses etc.

What is your educational goal?

Career Background:

Discuss educational career:

a.) teaching: years in classroom, (both full time and part time);
 schools, areas taught, positions of responsibility within
 school

b.) administration: positions held for which years, at which boards.

Discuss non-educational career: (make note of career time away from
classroom, prior to or during education career?; how many years were spent
outside of teaching?)

What is your career goal?

Additional Career Influences:

What motivated you to become first a teacher and then an administrator?

What personal characteristics and qualities do you possess that have assisted you in your career?

What experiences have you had that you would deem to be significant in allowing you access to your present position? to past positions?

Describe the level of support that has been provided for you by

- a.) your family?
- b.) your peers?
- c.) your own supervisors?

Have there been any key players in your career, individuals who have played a significantly important role?

Have you ever felt that you were hindered or discouraged in your career by individuals? by not having access to the correct information or contacts?

Have you ever felt personal strain or conflict in performing your job?

In general how would you describe your path to your current position? (easy, a struggle, a challenge, filled with obstacles, tough but straight forward; uncomplicated etc..)

Do you wish to receive a summary of the results of this study?

Appendix E: Individual Summaries - Chronological Order of Career

F1

- started teaching at 18
- all work at one public board - all teaching at elementary level
- 25 years teaching in grades 3 to 8
- 6 years out to raise family - worked seven tenths times then back to full time
- Vice Principal 5 years (while still in class room part time)
- Principal 1 year
- 1982 - Academic Assistant - 2 years
- Assistant Superintendent Special Services 1 year
- Superintendent of Operations 2 years
- Assistant Superintendent totalling 3 years
- Superintendent 7 years

SO papers 1981

F2

- initially taught with a religious community at private girls schools (some were schools for young nuns), then left the community and taught with one separate school at the secondary level
- religious community total 12 years teaching (some part time)
- taught chemistry, physics, math at high school level also kindergarten and gr 4
- 1968 - administrator - school for young nuns
- 1968- 1970 - "mother superior" at religious community
- 1970-1973 - guidance counsellor and teaching
- 1973-74 - principal private Catholic girls' school
- 1974 to 1976 - supply taught separate school board
- 1976 - vice principal - separate girls' school (secondary)
- 1980 - principal - separate girls' school
- 1991 - Superintendent of Schools - separate school board

SO papers 1990

F3

- all teaching at separate schools, secondary level
- 1970 (spring)- physical education
- 1971 - new school - as english, phys ed, special ed,
- 1973 or 74 - head of phys ed
- 1981 - vice principal -
- 1985 - vice principal - switched schools
- 1987 - principal separate girls' school (secondary)
- 1991 - Superintendent - switched to a new separate school board

SO papers 1991

F4

- all work done with public boards
- 1964 - elementary panel
- 1965 to 1967 - full time student at university (working on B.A.)
- supply taught while at university
- 1967 - moved to new community for husband's job - special needs students, initiated special education program
- 1969 - gr 8 teacher then took place of special ed teacher
set up individualized programs - also taught Min of Ed courses
- also began working with basic and vocational teachers at secondary level
- 1974 - special ed consultant position did work with programming very involved with intermediate senior programs
- seconded to secondary panel moved in to secondary panel to develop programs - spent couple of years there -
- 1977- language across curriculum - summers doing work with ministry
- 1978 - coordinator of program with board
- approx 1978 -seconded to special education school
- 1980 -seconded to Ministry - implementation of Bill 82
- 1982 - coordinator of program - switched boards
- 1985 - principal - K to 8 school
- 1987 - Superintendent of Program
- Jan 1992 - Superintendent of Program - switched boards

SO papers 1980

F5

- all teaching done at elementary level with one separate school board
- 1963 - graduated teachers's college (entered straight from grade 13)
- 1963 to 1968 - primary division suburban schools
- 1968 - Vice Principal - half time - 3 years - junior division
- 1971 - Principal - open concept school - 5 years
- 1976 - coordinator of program - learning materials - system wide implementation library and media
- 1984 - appointed as staff development officer - system wide - administrative positions - at level between secondary principal and superintendent
- 1988 - Assistant superintendent - human resources - hiring teaching and non-teaching staff - employment equity; health and safety; pastoral care; all screening for v.p.; prin - making sure practices are congruent with laws - thought this was great success
- 1991 - Superintendent of Education - first year - responsible for family of schools - curriculum implementation transition years
- 1993 - restructuring - 2 families of schools also responsible for childcare (8 centres)

SO papers 1986

M1

- all teaching done at the secondary level - two public school boards
- 1965 - geography teacher - 2 years
- 1967 - switched boards - Headship - 9 years
- 1976 - Vice Principal
- 1979 - Principal
- 1981 - switched schools - Principal
- 1986 - Assistant Superintendent Special Services - change of title to Assistant Superintendent of Instruction in 1987
- 1989 - Superintendent of Instruction
- 1991 - restructuring to current role

SO papers 1986

(note: this subject was hired to be a superintendent at the same time, and by the same board as F1)

M2

- 1980 - 8 months - engineer with gas company
- 1981 - Regional Municipality - various capacities, engineering positions - 1 year as administrator
- 1987 - Superintendent of Plant, separate school board

SO papers 1992

M3

- all teaching was for one separate school board at the secondary level
- 1965 - teaching history - all boys school
- 1966 - Department Head - History
- 1970 - created position as curriculum consultant all subjects intermediate level
- 1974 - Principal - selected to open school
- 1981 - switched schools - Principal
- 1985 - Area Superintendent - area of schools,
- 1988 - change of role - added adult and con ed diminished some other responsibilities
- 1991 - human resources

SO papers 1978

M4

- all teaching at 2 public boards, secondary level
 - 1968 - history teacher - 1 year
 - 1969 - switched boards - history - was assistant head for a few years but numbers/sections dropped off
 - 1977 - switched schools - head of history
 - 1978 - switched schools - Vice Principal
 - 1982 - switched schools - Vice Principal
 - 1984 - switched schools - Principal
 - 1988 - Superintendent
- also - several years spent working with curriculum projects at national level, committee work, federation involvement

SO papers 1983

M5

- all teaching with separate school boards, elementary level
- 1963 - elementary panel (Separate school board)
- 1968 - Principal 4- 8 school
- 1969 - switched boards - Principal - JK to 8
- 1972 - switched schools - Principal - larger JK to 8 school in (challenging school)
- 1975 - switched boards - K to 8 school
- 1976 - switched schools - 7 to 10 school (challenge)
- 1977 - Superintendent of Personnel
- 1985 (Jan) - switched boards - Superintendent
- 1986 - switched boards - Superintendent of Operations
- now Superintendent of English Elementary Schools

SO papers 1975